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Cover Image: Judy Watson, *a picnic with the natives—the gulf* (detail), 2015. Pigment and acrylic on canvas, 204 x 180 cm. Collection Art Gallery of New South Wales. Photograph by Carl Warner. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

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**SOPHIE MCINTYRE, FANG CHUN-WEI,
and ZARA STANHOPE**

Grounded in Place: Dialogues between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa

Abstract

This paper introduces “Grounded in Place: Dialogues between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa,” a special issue of Pacific Arts. It provides background information about the October 2021 online symposium of the same name, which brought together nineteen First Nations artists, filmmakers, and curators, along with non-Indigenous scholars and museum professionals, from Australia, Taiwan, Aotearoa New Zealand, and the Philippines. The symposium explored the relationships that First Nations creative practitioners in the Indo-Pacific region have to the land and sea. Each symposium speaker discussed their creative practice in relation to their panel’s theme: history and sovereignty, land and community, site and materials, or place and space.

The journal issue comprises written and visual essays, an interview, poetry, and reflective pieces from symposium participants. The contributions are based on the participants’ presentations and have been expanded. While acknowledging the different political, social, and environmental contexts of each contributor, as well as their highly distinctive perspectives and creative approaches, some common themes have emerged in this volume, which the guest editors outline in this introduction. These centre on First Nations Peoples’ complex relationships with land and water as sites of appropriation and struggles for sovereignty, as sources of learning and creative production, and as places of ancestral being and continuous belonging, community, and culture. The introduction provides a brief overview of each contributor’s essay, as well as background on the collaboration between the institutions that convened the symposium: Queensland University of Technology, Taiwan’s National Museum of Prehistory, and Aotearoa’s Govett-Brewster Art Gallery | Len Lye Centre. It also fleshes out some of the similarities between the countries’ histories, particularly the ongoing effects of colonisation upon their respective First Nations Peoples.

Keywords: *history and sovereignty, land and community, site and materials, place and space, First Nations artists*

In early October 2021, while many of us across the world were in lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic, we had the pleasure of delivering the symposium *Grounded in Place: Dialogues Between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa*. Presented online and across three days, it brought together nineteen First Nations artists, filmmakers, and curators, along with non-Indigenous scholars and museum professionals, from Australia, Taiwan, Aotearoa New Zealand, and the Philippines. Comprising artist talks, panel discussions, a keynote address, and screenings of award-winning documentary films, the symposium explored the relationships that First Nations creative practitioners in the Indo-Pacific region have to the land and sea. Each speaker was invited to discuss their creative practice as it related to the overall symposium theme “Grounded in Place” and to expand upon their individual panel’s theme: history and sovereignty, land and community, site and materials, or place and space.

Significantly, the symposium marked the first time that most participants had met face-to-face (albeit virtually) and engaged with each other in conversation. It was also the first collaboration between our respective institutions: Queensland University of Technology, Taiwan’s National Museum of Prehistory, and Aotearoa’s Govett-Brewster Art Gallery | Len Lye Centre. Originally, the symposium and publication were planned as part of a First Nations artistic exchange program between Australia and Taiwan. However, given the need to pivot to an online format, we extended the invitation to our neighbours in Aotearoa to join us in this symposium exploring different contexts and perspectives from the Indo-Pacific. Through this exchange, new connections were forged and insights and lines of inquiry emerged, all of which we seek to further explore in this special issue of *Pacific Arts* and in a forthcoming exhibition.

For this publication, each symposium participant was invited to critically reflect on and expand upon their presentation within the context of their respective panel theme, resulting in the following essays, interviews, reflective pieces, and visual essays. While acknowledging the different political, social, and environmental contexts of the contributors, as well as their highly distinctive perspectives and creative approaches, some common themes have emerged in this volume. These centre on our complex relationship with land and water as sites of appropriation and struggles for sovereignty, as sources of learning and creative production, and as places of ancestral being and continuous belonging, community, and culture.

As continents and islands located in the Indo-Pacific region, Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa share a certain interconnectedness that has been shaped

by geography, relationships between land and culture, First Nations Peoples' ties to the land and sea, and colonial and migrant histories. There is anthropological evidence to suggest that Taiwan and First Nations Pacific Peoples have been connected since prehistoric times through maritime migration routes of Austronesian-speaking peoples crossing the Indo-Pacific. The legacies of colonial-settler invasion and genocide, inter-generational trauma, and the ongoing struggles for reconciliation, self-determination, and sovereignty are also shared by First Nations Peoples in Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa.

The centrality of concerns—especially sovereignty—in the face of lasting effects of colonisation is a response to specific national conditions. Taiwan is unique in that it relates both to East Asia culturally and linguistically because of Chinese migration to the island, and to Island Southeast Asia and Oceania because of its Indigenous peoples' Austronesian language connection. Taiwanese Indigenous languages belong to the Austronesian group, which includes the majority of language groups in "Island Southeast Asia" and Oceania.¹ The recognition of ethnic as well as Austronesian identity is important to many Taiwanese Indigenous artists. The term "Taiwanese Indigenous people" generally refers to ethnic groups who have been living in Taiwan and on its outlying islands for as long as five thousand years, significantly longer than the Han Chinese settlers who arrived in the 1600s.² Centuries of colonisation caused Indigenous languages and traditions to be lost, and the Indigenous population was subjected to racially discriminatory practices. Since the 1980s, the relationship between Taiwanese Indigenous people and the government has been substantially transformed through Taiwan's Indigenous Movement, which has made issues of ethnic politics, naming, and rights regarding the usage and possession of land visible. This led to the establishment of the Presidential Office Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee in 2016, whose mandate is to address the government's violations of Indigenous people's human rights.³

Australia is home to the oldest continuing living culture in the world, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been custodians of these lands since they were created. Yet, when British colonisers invaded Australia in 1788, they declared it *terra nullius* ("land belonging to no one" in Latin). This term became the legal principle upon which land was claimed—without payment or treaty—by the British colonisers and European settlers. It was used by successive governments to explain and legitimise the dispossession, dispersal, and brutal treatment of First Nations peoples. The forced removal of Aboriginal people from their traditional homelands and the systematic separation of their families has had an enduring and devastating impact on Aboriginal communities across the country

and its effects are widely documented. For many contemporary Aboriginal artists, including those contributing to this volume, the desire to reconnect with traditional ancestral lands and to expose the effects of colonisation and ongoing discrimination towards Indigenous Australians is reflected in their work.

Similarly, the continuous impact of colonial history characterises the context for Māori artists in Aotearoa today. The arrival of British settlers in the late eighteenth century and desire of both sides to clarify rights to land led to The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi—an agreement made between Māori and the British Crown in 1840 that imposed British citizenship—and created one nation through Eurocentric systems of governance and law.⁴ While the Treaty led to the concept of biculturalism, as well as to the acknowledgement that Māori are *tangata whenua* (the people of the land) and have a special relationship with the land, the uneven nature of the Treaty partnership for Māori led to less-than-equal rights, protection, and status. Since the 1970s, Māori have been engaged in legal battles over land ownership and settlements intended to compensate them for their historical dispossession. Despite this opportunity, there is a wide body of literature that suggests that the outcomes of these settlements instead perpetuate colonisation and uphold the political structures that allow for the ongoing dispossession of Māori.⁵

In Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa, First Nations artists' experiences and responses to the ongoing effects of colonialism, and the socio-political, economic, and cultural environments in which they live, vary greatly. While acknowledging these distinctions, questions of sovereignty—what it means and how one might achieve it—are key themes underpinning works by many First Nations artists. For Taiwan's First Nation artists Chang En-man (張恩滿), Akac Orat (陳豪毅), Yuma Taru (尤瑪·達陸), and Anchi Lin (Ciwas Tahos, 林安琪)—whose papers are included in this volume—the question of sovereignty has national, legal, cultural, and personal implications. In their essays, they evocatively describe their respective efforts to recover and reclaim their ancestral lands, cultures, traditions, and their Indigenous identities in a predominantly Han-Chinese society and de facto nation-state.

Australia has more than 500 different clan groups or “nations,” each with its own language, customs, and laws. Sovereignty is viewed by many Aboriginal Australian artists—including symposium panellists Judy Watson, Mandy Quadrio, and Leah King-Smith—in relation to their connection to land and to their ancestral Country (including their waters). For Vernon Ah Kee, who was born in 1967—just months before the referendum in which Aborigines were finally recognised as

Australian citizens—sovereignty is both political and personal. He says, “[for me] sovereignty is about being able to build my future and my family’s future . . . not just merely declaring it. Do we want to use sovereignty in place of human rights?”⁶

The self-determination and continued autonomy of Māori culture expressed by the artistic practices of Ngāhuia Harrison, Ron Bull and Simon Kaan as part of Kaihaukai Art Collective, and Areta Wilkinson (the latter working as part of the collective Paemanu) are actions of sovereignty. Their practices draw on Te Ao Māori (The Māori World), and are informed by the interconnecting histories of *iwi* (tribe) and *hapu* (sub-tribe) with current ways of being that indicate an enduring presence. The exhibitions and works they discuss are evidence of artists providing insight into Māori *mātauranga* (values, concepts, and ideas) and inserting them into institutional and other contexts where they have previously been absent.

In an essay based on his keynote speech in the “Grounded in Place” symposium, Philippine-based art historian and curator Patrick Flores explores notions of origins, place, and sovereignty in relation to representations of Indigenous art in global, contemporary exhibition contexts. Reflecting on his own curatorial experiences, he highlights the inherent politics underpinning the representation of contemporary Indigenous art and the systematic discrimination towards people of colour, women, and Indigenous and queer communities within the modernist canon. Drawing on Chadwick Allen’s concept of the “transIndigenous,” Flores proposes an “Indigenous future” in which Indigenous artists might join together in solidarity and reclaim a space that is transdisciplinary, multidimensional, and multidirectional, that rises above geopolitics, race, class, gender, and sexuality.

Through the symposium and this publication, contributors have come together and claimed a space to meet, share their work, and engage in conversation, while many have also explored opportunities for future collaboration and exchange. They have highlighted their respect for ancestry as authority, and the ways they are acting to create, share, and be good guardians of knowledge. In so doing, they contest and Indigenise contemporary neo-liberal society. Their contributions evoke concepts of being connected to place and the multilayered realities within artistic research and practice in ways that empower their communities. As Judy Watson stated in her symposium presentation, the “artist as a needle” can pull community behind it or be pulled by community.

This special issue of *Pacific Arts* contributes artists’ knowledge, histories, and reflections on their own ground while forging acts that demonstrate their existence and resistance in acts of self-determination. We hope this publication

will offer new insights and help to build on the growing body of literature in this field, serving as a useful resource for creative practitioners, researchers, museum professionals, students, and teachers alike.

Numerous people contributed to the symposium and to this publication, and we are very grateful to them. Firstly, we would like to acknowledge and sincerely thank all our participants: artists Vernon Ah Kee, Chang En-man, Ngāhuia Harrison, Sarah Hudson, Kaihaukai Art Collective (Ron Bull and Simon Kaan), Leah King-Smith, Anchi Lin (Ciwas Tahos), Akac Orat, Mandy Quadrio, Yuma Taru, Judy Watson, and Areta Wilkinson (on behalf of Paemanu, Ngāi Tahu artist collective). We look forward to future interactions with them. Many thanks also to our keynote presenter, Patrick Flores, and to Wesley Enoch AM for offering a warm Welcome to Country during the symposium. We are grateful to film directors Larissa Behrendt, Merata Mita, Leon Narby, Gerd Pohlman, and Pilin Yapu (比令 . 亞布), and film distributors ABC Commercial, Black Fella Films, and Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision for allowing us to screen their films during the symposium. We would like to acknowledge and express our deepest gratitude to our advisors, Leah King-Smith, Juliana McLaughlin (Queensland University of Technology), and Yuma Taru, along with Megan Tamati-Quennell (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa), who provided valuable advice and support during the development of the symposium. Special thanks to Evie Franzidis, who worked tirelessly editing contributors' drafts of papers for this publication, and to Sarah Barron who provided valuable administrative and logistical support to Sophie McIntyre when organising and delivering the symposium. Finally, we would like to thank the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan (Spotlight Taiwan) for generously sponsoring the symposium and publication, and the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (Brisbane) for their support and cooperation.

*Dr Sophie McIntyre is a senior lecturer at the Queensland University of Technology, and a curator and writer specialising in art from Taiwan and the Asia-Pacific. She is the author of *Imagining Taiwan: The Role of Art in Taiwan's Quest for Identity* (Brill, 2018), and has published widely on visual art, museology, cultural diplomacy, and identity politics. McIntyre initiated the 2021 symposium "Grounded in Place: Dialogues Between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa," which she co-organised with Dr Fang Chun-wei and Dr Zara Stanhope. She has worked in museums in Australia, Taiwan, and New Zealand, and her curated exhibitions include *Ink Remix: Contemporary Art from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong*; *Penumbra: New Media Art from Taiwan*;*

and Islanded: Contemporary Art from New Zealand, Singapore, and Taiwan (with Lee Weng Choy and Eugene Tan).

Dr Fang Chun-wei is an associate curatorial researcher and the head of Department of Exhibition and Education at the National Museum of Prehistory in Taiwan and an adjunct associate professor at National Taitung University. For two decades, he has conducted research on Austronesian communities in Taiwan, Indonesia, and Fiji. He has also been involved in Indigenous museum development and training projects in Taiwan since 2017. His work has focused on the cross-cultural and comparative studies of museological and cultural diversity. He has published on ritual, religious conversion, and emerging cultural revitalisation among Taiwan's Indigenous Bunun people, and has edited two books on Atayal weaving.

Dr Zara Stanhope is the director of Govett-Brewster Art Gallery / Len Lye Centre, New Plymouth, Aotearoa New Zealand, and an adjunct professor at AUT University, Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand. A curator and writer, she has published widely and actively seeks collaborations that foster connections and increase an understanding of who we are across the Global South. She is focused on the strategic direction of GBAG as an active Treaty partner with mana whenua and of deepening experiences of contemporary art from Aotearoa and Te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa. She was the lead curator for Aotearoa New Zealand at the 58th La Biennale di Venezia, 2019.

Notes

¹ Southeast Asia (SEA) is divided into “Mainland SEA” and “Island SEA” due to the distinct natural environments, histories, languages, and cultures. The people of Island SEA speak mainly Austronesian languages.

² Taiwanese Indigenous people have been subjected to the successive control of six foreign powers: the Dutch (1624–1662), the Spanish (1626–1642), Koxinga (1662–1683), the Qing Empire (1683–1895), the Japanese (1895–1945), and the Republic of China (1945–present).

³ Presidential Office, Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee, <https://indigenous-justice.president.gov.tw/EN>.

⁴ Claudia Orange, *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2004).

⁵ Scott Summerfield, “Towards a Positive Treaty Partnership in the Post-Settlement Era: Treaty of Waitangi Settlements and Decolonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand” (master’s thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2015); Margaret Mutu, “The Treaty Claims Settlement Process in New Zealand and its Impact on Māori,” *Land* 8, no. 10 (2019): 152; and John Reid, Matthew Rout, Te Maire Tau,

and Cheryl Smith, *The Colonising Environment: An Aetiology of the Trauma of Settler Colonisation and Land Alienation of Ngāi Tahu Whānau* (University of Canterbury Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, Christchurch, 2017).

⁶ Vernon Ah Kee and Sophie McIntyre, “‘nothing important happened today’: An Interview with Vernon Ah Kee,” *Pacific Arts* 22, no. 2 (2022): 11–26.

Megan Tamati-Quennell

Introduction to “History and Sovereignty”

Abstract

This essay introduces the second section of “Grounded in Place: Dialogues between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan and, Aotearoa,” a special issue of Pacific Arts. “History and Sovereignty” includes papers by First Nations artists Vernon Ah Kee (Australia), Chang En-Man (Taiwan), and the Kaihaukai Collective (Aotearoa/New Zealand).

Keywords: *First Nations, contemporary experience, autonomy, cultural practice*

The first section of “Grounded in Place” explores “History and Sovereignty—enmeshed concepts for First Nations people—through the work of artists Vernon Ah Kee (Australia), Chang En-Man (Taiwan), and the Kaihaukai Collective (Aotearoa/New Zealand). The three articles discuss First Nations’ experiences, social justice, Indigenous connections to land, knowledge systems that have evolved over millennia, and cultural practices that have continued or transformed since colonisation, framing these issues through broader concepts including contemporary experience, deep histories, Indigenous autonomy, and self-determination.

In an interview, Vernon Ah Kee discusses his recent exhibition *nothing important happened today*, held at Brisbane’s Spring Hill Reservoir in 2021. The reservoir, a remarkable example of underground architecture, is also the site of the first public executions of two Aboriginal men, a fact acknowledged in Ah Kee’s powerful exhibition. His project mined the history of the site but also the wider history of violence, including the lynchings and killings of Aboriginal people and people of colour, sometimes legally justified. The exhibition title references a seemingly innocuous declaration from 1776, attributed to the reigning British monarch, King George III. Ah Kee uses it to explore false narratives, the construction of history, and to illuminate the entrenched “history of denial” of the brutality that occurred through the colonial process and that continues today in Australia.

The beginning of Chang En Man’s essay “Snail Paradise Trilogy” includes a song written by the artist presented in a customary manner. The song refers to the cultural significance of an Indigenous Taiwanese traditional food: the giant African snail. In her paper, Chang describes her projects that have drawn on knowledge from the Indigenous matrilineal line of her family. These included the gathering of recipes and the creation of textiles, videos, and installation works all focused on the giant African snail, an exotic species that was introduced to Taiwan as a food in the 1930s by the Japanese during their occupation. Chang uses the snail to consider Taiwanese history and its relationship to the world and to explore the resilience of culture, its independent transformation, and the response of culture to external influences.

The final essay in this section, by Ron Bull and Simon Kaan as the Kaihaukai Art Collective, is anchored by the concept of *mana i te whenua*—authority from the land. The collective’s projects are focused on food sovereignty, *mahika kai* (customary food gathering practices) of the Ngāi Tahu (Indigenous peoples of Southern New Zealand), and *whakapapa*, the layered Māori relationship with land, water, and sea. Their essay discusses the group’s invited response to the exhibition *Tamatea: Legacies of Encounter* that was held at Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, in Wellington, in 2019 and 2020. While the museum show centred a painting by William Hodges depicting Tamatea (Dusky Sound), the Kaihaukai Art Collective’s curatorial project that responded to it expressed the Ngāi Tahu history of Tamatea and its more recent history as a site of early cultural encounters, including Cook’s second voyage to New Zealand in 1773. The collective presented a narrative, four-part feast response to the show that addressed cultural collisions and the ongoing environmental devastation of Tamatea.

Megan Tamati-Quennell is a writer and curator of modern and contemporary Māori and Indigenous art, with a specialist interest in Māori modernism. She has worked as a curator for over three decades and is currently both an external curator for the Govett Brewster Art Gallery in New Plymouth and curator of modern and contemporary Māori and Indigenous art at Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington. She is of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha Māori descent and is based in Wellington.

VERNON AH KEE & SOPHIE MCINTYRE
nothing important happened today: An
Interview with Vernon Ah Kee

Abstract

*This is an edited transcript of an interview with Vernon Ah Kee conducted by Sophie McIntyre in which the artist discusses his 2021 exhibition *nothing important happened today*, held at the Spring Hill Reservoir in Brisbane, Australia. The discussion explores the history of the site, to which several of Ah Kee’s works in the exhibition responded, and broader national and global issues relating to colonisation and sovereignty. The conversation also touches on ongoing themes within Ah Kee’s practice, such as race relations and the politics of denial in Australian society.*

Ah Kee details the methodologies used to create his artworks—which range from videos to large-scale drawings to installations—with McIntyre observing in them the relationship between beauty and violence. Ah Kee ruminates on the role of art in society, particularly in Australia, where there remains a significant divide between the experiences of First Nations and non-Indigenous peoples, and our perspectives on history and sovereignty, which were major themes explored in the “Grounded in Place” symposium panel of which Ah Kee was a part.

Keywords: *Aboriginal Australian art, colonisation, Australian history, police brutality, sovereignty, First Nations*

This interview was conducted in February 2022, several months after artist Vernon Ah Kee gave a presentation in the “Grounded in Place” online symposium as part of the panel “History and Sovereignty.” In his presentation, Ah Kee discussed several of the works in his solo exhibition *nothing important happened today*, held at the Spring Hill Reservoir, Brisbane (September 18–October 2, 2021). This interview expands on key points Ah Kee made in that talk and delves more deeply into his practice and views on history, beauty, violence, sovereignty, and related issues.



Figure 1. Vernon Ah Kee, *nothing important happened today*, 2021. Exhibition installation view, Spring Hill Reservoir. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

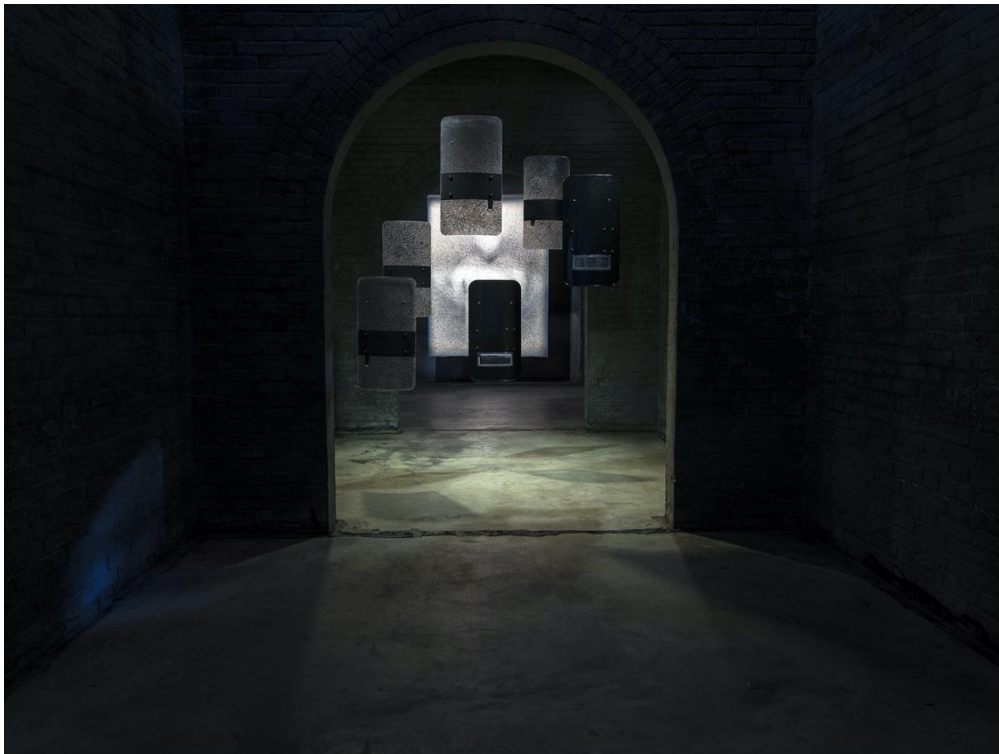


Figure 2. Vernon Ah Kee, *nothing important happened today*, 2021. Exhibition installation view, Spring Hill Reservoir. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

Sophie McIntyre (SM): *nothing important happened today (Figs. 1–8), one of your most recent exhibitions, was presented by the Spring Hill Reservoir in Meanjin (Brisbane) in late 2021. The exhibition and the space in which it was shown were deeply affecting and resonated strongly with visitors. Can you discuss some of the key issues explored in this exhibition and the historical significance of the site?*

Vernon Ah Kee (VAK): The title of the exhibition references a historical, probably apocryphal quote attributed to King George III. He is said to have written this line in his diary on 4 July 1776—the day Britain’s new-world colonies declared their independence. Because the British government could no longer send their convicts there, it began sending them to Australia.

The gist of what I was trying to say through the exhibition was that there is a willful denial of history and a twisting of context that happens every time opposing narratives collide. This happens on both sides, but when there is a dominant culture it’s usually one-way communication; we see this everywhere, particularly in the colonial context.

When I was approached with the opportunity to mount something in the Reservoir, I took it without really knowing what I was going to do, but I knew I needed to do something. The building is in Spring Hill in Brisbane city. In recent years, it has been restored and refurbished, creating a space for different kinds of events, including exhibitions. The Reservoir is adjacent to a windmill that was built in 1841. Together, the windmill and the Reservoir used to feed water to Brisbane when it was a colony town, so to speak.

The site itself has a horrible history. Not just a horrible kind of colonial history in terms of law and order, but in terms of how Aborigines were treated. They were summarily rounded up and pushed to the fringes of the town. Boundary posts were set up, and Blackfellas were not allowed to enter the city area. They were marginalised from their own lands.

It was also the site of the public execution of two Aboriginal men, Mullan and Ningavil, who were hanged from the windmill in 1841. I think it might have been the first official execution in Brisbane as a town. It was public and done with much fanfare. This history is very much hidden—willfully and aggressively hidden—and more than just hidden, it has been denied. There are similar histories, accounts, and events from this time in other towns in Australia. I wanted the exhibition to engage with the site and to explore themes that recur in my work, one of which is questioning this idea of the colonial narrative and offering opposing narratives.



Figure 3. Vernon Ah Kee, *scratch the surface* (detail), 2020. Ten riot shields with charcoal, 88 x 48 x 4 cm each, installation view in the exhibition *nothing important happened today*, Spring Hill Reservoir, 2021. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane



Figure 4. Vernon Ah Kee, *scratch the surface*, 2020. Ten riot shields with charcoal, 88 x 48 x 4 cm each, installation view in the exhibition *nothing important happened today*, Spring Hill Reservoir, 2021. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

SM: *Can you elaborate on these concealed histories and the opposing or parallel narratives that you explore in this body of work?*

VAK: Many people, both in and outside of Australia, think Australians have a lot of guilt about the country's treatment of Aborigines and "lesser subjects," but I don't think they do. There is nothing to suggest in society—and particularly in policy and the way the government conducts itself—that there's a lot of guilt. I think this is because of the level of denial inherent in Australian values, and the most common narratives kind of cancel out the guilt. They don't even override it, they just cancel it out completely, like it's something people should not have to contend with. The Australian populace, in general, continues on its merry way.

And so, part of my role as a visual artist—and I'm not alone—is to demonstrate to audiences that there are parallel narratives, which are generated by the kind of parallel existences that different peoples in this country have. Ultimately, it is a colonial experience—both of the coloniser and the colonised, the persecutor and the persecuted.

These overarching themes run through a lot of my work, but primary within this exhibition is the idea of brutality—particularly the brutality inherent in the dominant authorities' treatment of lesser people, and specifically, Blackfellas. The police are a tool of the legal system in this country—and I am using the word "tool" to be diplomatic when, really, they're most often used as a weapon, a blunt weapon at that. And again, there's been so much evidence to demonstrate this, particularly within Aboriginal communities.

So, basically those are the broad strokes of the exhibition. In a way, the space demanded this kind of show; the space was never going to allow anything soft or with rounded edges.

SM: *Yes, viewing your work within this space was a disorienting, unsettling, and almost otherworldly experience. The visitor had to descend into the space, located six metres underground, via a narrow steel staircase. It was dark, with no natural light, and it was also quite cold. It took time for the eyes and body to adjust and for your work to become visible. The building's architecture—with its high and solid stone walls and its curvilinear arches and compressed spaces—is the antithesis of the "white cube" gallery. Was this something you were conscious of when selecting and presenting your work in, or should I say "for," this space?*

VAK: The space is unlike a lot of exhibition spaces I've been to—it has a particular atmosphere that we must let settle on us. We had to be mindful of the architecture—the floor, the height of the space, and the acoustics. We knew that

we needed to make this space work fully for us and for us to work fully with the space—there was no kind of thinking we could work with the space a little.

The site itself had already gone through a kind of renewal; it was like it had revisited past sins and reckoned with that history. I don't know, but maybe it excited some ghosts—I wasn't game to spend the night there!

As you descend into the space, the change in temperature immediately shifts you to a profoundly different kind of psychology, and you have to adjust to the light and the architecture.

When you walk into any curated space, as a viewer, you're searching for a place to locate yourself. Any kind of well-thought-out space, particularly architecturally, will lead you to a starting point, and the most obvious starting point here is the centre corridor, where we installed the shields (*scratch the surface*, 2019, Figs. 3–4).

One of the most striking aspects of the space was the height of the ceiling, and we could include works of scale in this reasonably tight space. The large drawings *lynching I* and *lynching II* (Fig. 5) were displayed on the side walls and spot lit. The video *Kick the Dust* (Figs. 6–7) was displayed toward the back of the space. These were two very active sections within the space, and they changed the feel of the space.

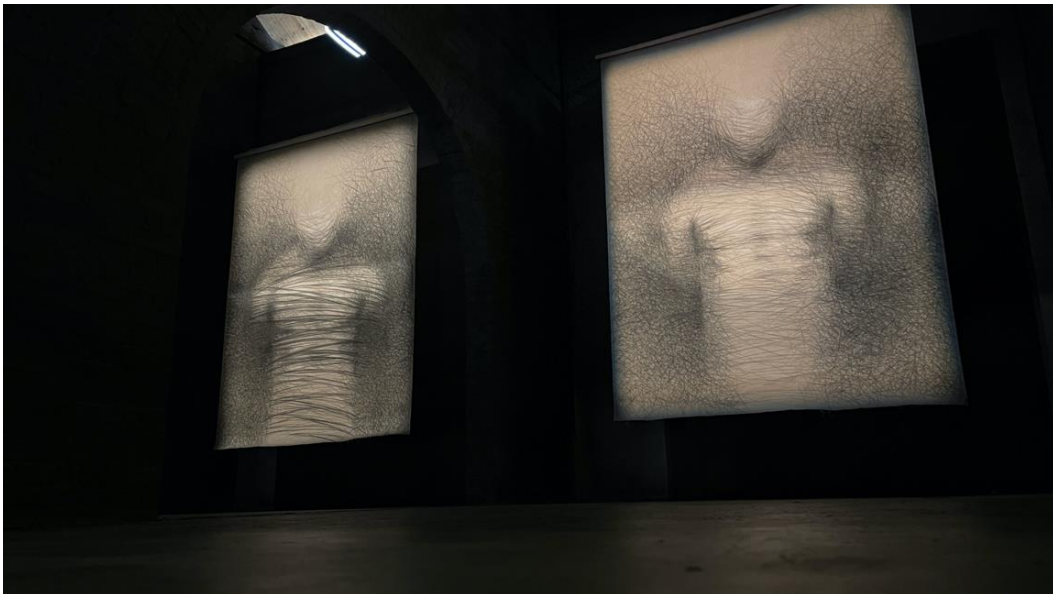


Figure 5. Vernon Ah Kee, *lynching I* and *lynching II*, 2015. Charcoal on Belgian linen, 300 x 200 cm each, installation view in the exhibition *nothing important happened today*, Spring Hill Reservoir, 2021. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

SM: *These are three separate, pre-existing bodies of work, yet by bringing them together in this exhibition, and in this space, they acquire new meaning. Collectively, they examine past acts of racial violence—locally and globally—and the erasure of these acts, and this connects with the history of the site itself.*

VAK: Yes, *lynching I* and *lynching II* were created quite some time ago. In this exhibition space, these drawings of lynched bodies are a direct reference to the executions of the two Aboriginal men at this site. They are dead Aboriginal bodies.

These works also refer to the historical practice of gibbeting, in which dead or dying bodies were strung up on a wooden structure or displayed in a cage and presented in public to deter other people. In North America and Europe, they would just wrap the body in chains, and the birds could eat the bodies, leaving only the bones. Just barbaric really. It's a medieval practice, but it also was done during the Armenian genocide in Turkey in the early twentieth century.

There may be scholars and historians who would question me and my use of that kind of imagery, particularly as a reference to that kind of practice happening in Australia. They might say we don't have any evidence of it, and I'd be like, well, do you think it *never* happened here? There are people who think lynching never happened in Australia. . . . [This despite there being] lots and lots of records of massacres of Aboriginal people, in which bodies were put on public display, where bodies were dismembered and displayed in trees—that kind of brutality. You keep hitting this kind of denial and it's a specific kind of denial that is recognisable and almost instant. In my career, I've come up against it so many times and it just makes me think that this must be a characteristic of being Australian. I don't have another explanation for it. And believe me, I would like to be wrong, but it's how I make sense of the world in the context of my life, so yeah, that's the idea of the drawings.

These drawings are huge, too, because I wanted there to be a sense of undeniability about them. I worked on them for about four days, using charcoal on raw linen. In North America in particular, lynching was a public spectacle. They would make a bonfire and burn the bodies, leaving only charcoal traces of the victims. We pinned the linen to the wall and the charcoal collected at the feet of the drawings.

I tend to build my drawings almost sculpturally. The drawing action I use is a kind of cutting—it involves crossing [cross-hatching], using lots and lots of small lines—and I just build up layers and layers. Conceptually, I employ this technique because it's like thousands and thousands of cuts on skin. It's kind of like having a sense of skin, but also of scarring. And there's a kind of ritual in scarification. Every

single cut hurts, but not enough to kill the subject, so the person just walks around with these wounds.

SM: *Earlier in your career you created a lot of large-scale portraits in which the subject's face is front and centre.¹ What sets these lynching drawings apart is that they focus on the torso.*

VAK: Oh, the heads are kind of hanging off the top of the neck, but torsos are the main anatomical focus of the lynching. They are also meant to represent a universal kind of sculptural torso—the classical Greek kind of ideal of the universal man—and so the torsos themselves are meant to be beautiful and anatomically attractive. This idea is juxtaposed with the context of horror that these figures have been subjected to.

SM: *This is one of the striking things about your work: aesthetically, there is a beauty and refinement, yet conceptually there is a strong sense of violence and brutality. How do you see that relationship expressed through your work—between the violence of the subject and the aesthetic beauty of the composition or form?*

VAK: My shows are highly designed, and I commit myself to establishing an aesthetic of beauty. I'm aware that my drawing action is borne of a recognisably classical discipline, and that's inherent in the way I draw and the lines I employ. I wouldn't describe any of my drawings as messy.

If something is presented beautifully, you can say horrific things. You can show horror and tragedy and brutality to extreme levels if you present it beautifully. And you can elicit a lot of forgiveness from the audience if the work is presented in a way that is kind of recognisably beautiful.

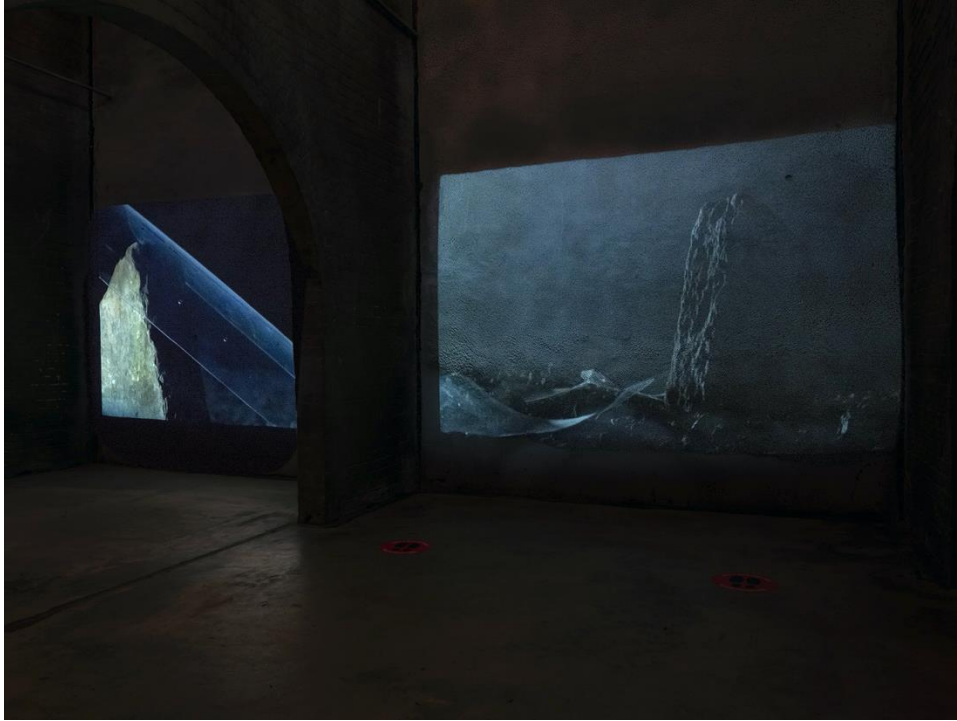


Figure 6. Vernon Ah Kee, *kick the dust*, 2019. Three-channel video, installation view in the exhibition *nothing important happened today*, Spring Hill Reservoir, 2021. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane



Figure 7. Vernon Ah Kee, *kick the dust*, 2019. Three-channel video, installation view in the exhibition *nothing important happened today*, Spring Hill Reservoir, 2021. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

SM: *Your video kick the dust (Figs. 6–7) expresses this contrasting sense of beauty and violence. Filmed in slow motion and in black-and-white, it has a poetic and cinematic quality that seduces the viewer and draws us in. Yet, the work focuses on the issue of racially motivated violence and injustice. In it, we see three police shields dragged across a dusty road, and battered against a rock, until they splinter into fine plastic shards. Can you elaborate on this work?*

VAK: I wanted to make a work that was drawn from the events of Palm Island and Cronulla in 2004 and 2005, respectively; in particular, I wanted to focus on the aspect of police brutality.² The police are a kind of freewheeling tool of the legal system. Because of the amount of leeway they have, and their kind of willingness to brutalise, I used police shields as a symbol of such persecution and of the way the legal system works. In Australia, there are more than 200 separate laws specifically regarding Aboriginal people. How can this be unless there is a long history of established practices and attitudes that contribute to this kind of engineering?

There are so many occurrences of police brutality, particularly with Blackfellas. The police are trained to think of anybody of difference in a specific way and to punish accordingly—to always punish. It’s an extremely brutal way of conducting yourself as a society. For this video, we tied shields to a four-wheel-drive car and dragged them through a riverbed and mud, and we also shattered them with a crowbar. These are Perspex shields, the same as you would see riot police with.

The video also reflects on two examples of extreme violence committed against Black men: one in Texas and one Australia. In Texas, James Byrd Jr. was literally dragged behind a four-wheel-drive truck driven by a white man. The really striking aspect of that story is that it wasn’t so much that the white guy knew he wasn’t going to get away with it; it was that he just thought it was alright to do it. In Alice Springs, these young fellows who were drinking jumped into their four-wheel drive around one or two o’clock in the morning, and drove down the riverbed where some Aboriginals were sleeping. They beeped the horn and flashed their high beams, and it had the desired effect: the people sleeping there ran for their lives. But there was one old Blackfella who was too tired to get out of the way, so he stood his ground in front of them. They had to swerve to avoid him, and they drove off. But they couldn’t let it go; they were so offended that this old fella—who was in his sixties—had stood his ground that they decided to go back and beat him to death. And they did. Again, because they thought it must be OK

to do that. They had probably beaten people just like that man before, but this time they actually killed somebody.

The legal system comes into play here, because these guys were identified and arrested, but the court decided to take statements from the white community testifying to the character of these young men—that they were just young, came from good families, and things had just gotten out of control. Some of them got very minor sentences—like ten months—for killing a person! I think the most severe sentence handed out was four years. So, Australia is a country where you can just kill Black people and somehow, it's OK. They just think, they're Black and we're white, and this is an OK thing to do. By virtue of them being Black and Aboriginal, it makes them a lesser consideration—and not just as people, but in the eyes of the law, in the eyes of history, in the eyes of every popular narrative in this country, in the eyes of society, in the eyes of education, in the eyes of the academy, of museology, and of literature in every way. There was no reason for these guys not to think that it was OK to kill an Aboriginal man.

For Aborigines, shields are used for protection, battle, and for combat. As you know, in earlier works I've used Aboriginal shields, rainforest shields. But in this work, I want to reflect on a clash of ideologies and an opposing kind of context. I am dragging police shields and rendering them powerless. The shields continue to be dragged and the audience doesn't know if their heads and limbs will come off. We're not going to stop; we just keep going. So, the work is a kind of examination of the powerful over the powerless and the horrors that ensue. And then there's this sense of clash and the sense of the actual violent action.

In *scratch the surface* (Figs. 3–4), I used the same cross-hatching technique on the surface of the plastic police shields as I used in the lynching drawings. I hung the shields from the ceiling of the Reservoir's central atrium. There is a seriousness to those shields—they have that critical weight but also a lot of emotion.

SM: *It's poignant that it's been ten years since then-Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivered the National Apology to the Stolen Generation. Do you feel much has changed since then?*

VAK: Well, we know things have gotten worse. We know this because Prime Minister, Scott Morrison, recently made a speech that kind of dismissed any notion of an apology and actually emphasised that forgiveness should be a sentiment that should override any sense of apology.³ He was putting the onus on

the victims of any crime to forgive . . . We are left to make of that what we will . . . This was the prime minister of the country, speaking on behalf of all of us.



Figure 8. Vernon Ah Kee, *nothing important happened today*, 2021. Exhibition installation view, Spring Hill Reservoir, 2021. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

SM: *Looking back over the past twenty-three years when you began exhibiting, the subject of your work seems to have shifted from the highly personal—focusing on your family—to global issues becoming more predominant in your work. Is that a fair observation to make?*

VAK: Oh, yeah, that's true, although some of what I was saying at the start of my career had international elements and meaning, particularly around the kind of context of Indigenous peoples internationally.

Certainly, there's a kind of a universality there, but it's increased the longer my career has progressed. At the start of my career, I was concerned about making work about my own life and experiences, and it was important at that time that I speak about things that I know are true. I made work based on my own family's experiences and histories, so at any given time, I could point to those experiences

and say, well, these are experiences that I know are true. I am the expert, me and my family, we are the experts, because these experiences come from my own self and my family and what immediately surrounds me, and they are undeniable.

And I consciously established that as a pattern throughout my career, where I would really make sure I was talking about experiences I know are true. I know they are true for people of colour, about the way we experience skin, and about the commonalities that Native people experience the world. And that comes from engagements that I've had with Native people internationally.

For Aborigines in Australia, we see ourselves very much tied to the fate and history of the Native people in North America—the commonalities are so obvious they are unavoidable. But as people with dark skin in this country, we also occupy a lot of the polemic around skin and the politics of skin and skin-colour by racism that Black Americans occupy. What sets us apart is that Black people in America think that being Black is about the legacy of slavery. For Black people everywhere else in the world, being Black means “land” and the sense of history tied to that land. There are those kinds of generalisations there and cultural specifics there, but they're all kind of up for grabs, but they're all anchored in common experiences, so it's important that there is a throughline to these experiences that ring true.

SM: *In your panel [at the “Grounded in Place” symposium], one of the key words used was “sovereignty.” For some of the presenters, sovereignty of self and sovereignty of land are intertwined. How do you understand the word “sovereignty”?*

VAK: Sovereignty depends very much on the context of your life as an individual. . . . What are the benefits of sovereignty? That's what I want to know. I want to know what it means to me as an individual, and to my family as a group, and to my language group as a group. You know, people can point and say we have sovereignty over this land and I'm like, yeah, but what does that do? Because sovereignty is more akin to being able to point to something and say, “I can build my future there, I can build my family's future there.” And if that's what sovereignty is, then let's pursue that.

On the one hand, I'm wanting to embrace the idea of sovereignty; on the other, I'm trying to dismiss it. I want to know that it has enough substance that you can't dismiss it so easily; that the notion of sovereignty has a weight of its own, and that you can build something on top of it. Do we want to use sovereignty

in the place of human rights? Some people say that we [Aboriginal people] are born with inherent rights—does sovereignty work like that?

So, on the one hand I want to say that sovereignty sits on its own with all these values and descriptors and these kinds of characteristics tied to it; on the other hand, I want to dismiss it because there's so much evidence to suggest that it does not have much weight to it. Surely the Uluru Statement was an exercise in sovereignty, but it's proven to have absolutely no weight at all. In fact, it's fading into obscurity daily. Is it possible to demonstrate sovereignty through a piece of well-written legislature? I don't know. . . . Maybe sovereignty is just a word and that we should get rid of it.

SM: *Do you feel that art has the potential to assert a kind of sovereignty?*

VAK: Well, I don't know if that's the role of art. Is it possible to demonstrate sovereignty through artwork? I think art plays a role in that process, but art on its own shouldn't do that. I think that art should be one of those things that sits in the corner and asks questions . . . You know, that sits there putting his hand up every five minutes while someone's talking. Hopefully sovereignty is a much bigger thing that art can't possibly be enough. And there's good art—there's good art all the time—so yeah, sovereignty has to include cultures and practices that are drawn from the weight of history and those customs, but also contribute to it over time. Maybe I'm being a little unfair, because I'm someone who walks around asking questions all the time. My aim is not to give answers. My aim is to ask questions—that's what art is for, I think.

Vernon Ah Kee's conceptual text pieces, videos, photographs, and drawings form a critique of Australian popular culture from the perspective of the Aboriginal experience of contemporary life. In particular, he explores the dichotomy between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies and cultures. Ah Kee's works effectively reposition the Aboriginal in Australia from an "othered thing" anchored in museum and scientific records to a contemporary people inhabiting real and current spaces and time. Ah Kee is a descendant of the Kuku Yalandji, Waanji, Yidindji, Koko Berrin and Gugu Yimithirr peoples. Born 1967 in Innisfail, North Queensland, Australia, he lives and works in Brisbane. He has had several major solo shows, as well as participated in numerous group shows, both internationally and within Australia. His work is held in many national collections.

*Sophie McIntyre is a senior lecturer at the Queensland University of Technology, and a curator and writer specialising in art from Taiwan, China, and the Asia-Pacific. She is the author of *Imagining Taiwan: The Role of Art in Taiwan's Quest for Identity* (Brill, 2018), and has published widely on visual art, museology, cultural diplomacy, and identity politics. McIntyre has been a director and curator in museums in Australia, Taiwan, and New Zealand, and her curated exhibitions include: *Ink Remix: Contemporary art from Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong* (2015-7); *Penumbra: New Media Art from Taiwan* (2007-8); and *Islanded: Contemporary Art from New Zealand, Singapore and Taiwan* (with Lee Weng Choy and Eugene Tan) (2005). In 2001 and 2002 a selection of Ah Kee's earliest works featured in two exhibitions she curated: *Place/Displace: A selection of Postgraduate Student works presented at the Queensland College of Art and Transit Narratives: Works on Paper from Australia presented at Centro per la Cultura e le Arti Visive Le Venezie, Villa Letizia, Treviso, Italy.**

Notes

¹ For further information and examples of these portraits see the collections of Queensland Art Gallery/Gallery of Modern Art, Brisbane, Australia, "Ah Kee, Vernon": <https://collection.qagoma.qld.gov.au/stories/1715> (accessed Sept. 7, 2022); and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, Australia, "Vernon Ah Kee": <https://www.mca.com.au/artists-works/artists/vernon-ah-kee/> (accessed Sept. 7, 2022).

² On November 19, 2004, Cameron Doomadgee, a 36-year-old Aboriginal man on Palm Island was arrested for being drunk and a public nuisance. At the time of his arrest, he had no visible injuries. An *ABC News* report confirmed that "hours later he was dead from massive internal injuries including broken ribs and a ruptured spleen, and his liver was so badly damaged it was almost cleaved in two across his spine." On the day the autopsy results were revealed, local resident Lex Wotton led a riot throughout the town to protest the violent and reprehensible police brutality that this incident revealed. See Allyson Horn, "Palm Island Death in Custody: Community Still Struggling to Deal with Memories Ten Years on," *ABC News*, November 19, 2014, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-11-19/palm-island-community-still-struggling-after-death-in-custody/5901028>.

In 2005, there were a series of race riots that took place in the New South Wales suburb of Cronulla, at the heart of which was a "turf war," where white Australians were asserting their supposed ownership of the beach in response to the presence of Middle Eastern immigrants. See National Museum of Australia, "Defining Moments, Cronulla Race Riots," last updated March 17, 2022. <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/cronulla-race-riots>.

³ Three months after this interview was conducted, Prime Minister Scott Morrison was defeated in the federal elections and succeeded by Prime Minister Anthony

Albanese. Morrison's speech was made to commemorate the fourteenth anniversary of the National Apology and it was delivered on 13 Feb. 2022. For further information see 'Anniversary of National Apology': <https://www.pmc.gov.au/news-centre/domestic-policy/14th-anniversary-apology-australias-indigenous-peoples> (accessed Sept. 7, 2022).

CHANG EN-MAN 張恩滿

Snail Paradise Trilogy: A Series by Chang En-man

Abstract

*In 1933, a Japanese colonial official introduced the giant African snail (*Achatina fulica*), originally from East Africa, to Taiwan from Singapore to be raised for food. Since 2009, I have given presentations on this snail, including projects involving recipes, embroidery, maps, interviews, collaborations, and multimedia work. My inspiration comes from my Paiwan (an Indigenous group in Taiwan) mother, who would always gather snails after the rain, cook them, and give them to my siblings and me to eat. Snails were the starting point for my research into my maternal bloodline, which is part of the Taiwanese Indigenous bloodline. From there, I considered how the path of the snail's dispersal is comparable to the route of imperial expansion in the Pacific, and looked at Taiwan's history and its relationship to the world. This paper considers my evolving project centered around the giant African snail and offers my thoughts on how traditional Indigenous Taiwanese cooking and sewing practices may be reinterpreted as a strategy for resisting colonisation.*

Keywords: *First Nations, giant African snail, Taiwan Indigenous people, Paiwan, cross-stitching, cooking, installation art*

For me, the giant African snail (*Achatina fulica*) is not just a species of animal—it has great traditional significance to my culture and community. Since 2009, I have given nine presentations on this snail, including projects involving recipes, embroidery, maps, interviews, collaborations, and multimedia work. My inspiration comes from my Paiwan (an Indigenous group in Taiwan) mother, who would always gather snails after the rain, cook them, and give them to my siblings and me to eat. After she and my Han father divorced when I was two years old, we lived with our father, but my mother continued to bring snails to us. Snails later became the starting point for my research into my maternal Taiwanese Indigenous bloodline. The fact that mostly only Indigenous people eat them piqued my curiosity and inspired me to creatively explore Taiwan's history and its relationship with the world by looking at how this exotic species came to Taiwan.

I wrote the following song and filmed people from the Pacavalj community singing it to one of their traditional melodies:

Dingding (snail), crack, crack!

I would like to tell you a story about a creature from far away.

It may even be related to the origin of human beings.

However, before that, I will crack this shell, take the snail out, and cook it with the traditional ingredients of shellflower leaves, *Trichodesma khasianum*, and millet.

We make this precious traditional food called *cinavu* for special guests on important days. *Aya!*

— Chang En-man, “The Legend of the Snail”

The video (Fig. 1) is part of my series *Snail Paradise Trilogy: Setting Sail or Final Chapter*, which was exhibited at the Pan-Austro-Nesian Arts Festival at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts in 2021. The theme of the festival was “Discourse on Ocean Currents and Islands.” The video serves as the introduction to my installation, which explores how the snail came to Taiwan by riding along ocean currents at the hands of travelling humans.



Figure 1. Chang En-man, *Snail Paradise Trilogy: Setting Sail or Final Chapter* (detail), 2021. Video, 14:35 min. Image courtesy of the artist

The Age of Exploration . . . for the Giant African Snail

The Age of Exploration (1400s–1600s), also called the Age of Discovery, initiated exchanges of species throughout the world and posed new challenges related to disease and survival. Later, in the 1700s, British botanist Sir Joseph Banks sailed with the likes of Captain James Cook on odysseys of scientific discovery. With each return home, Banks brought an abundance of exotic species to add wonder to the Royal Garden.¹ From the Nineteenth Century, the giant African snail, originally from East Africa, had been brought on shipping vessels that rode the ocean's currents from Madagascar to Sri Lanka and then to East Asia.² In 1933, Shimojō Kumaichi, an official in Taiwan's public health administration (during the Japanese occupation, 1895–1945), introduced the snail to Taiwan from Singapore to be raised for food. I will not go into detail about this portion of history, but I mention it because it made me realise that the giant African snail was forced to migrate by the actions of colonialism. Due to its fertility and capacity for survival, snail supply exceeded demand. Snails were released from captivity, wreaking havoc on Taiwan's agricultural industry.³ At around the same time, they invaded the Malay Peninsula, North Borneo, Indonesia, and the Hawaiian Islands. Due to the catastrophic damage they cause, they are currently on the list of 100 of the World's Worst Invasive Alien Species.⁴

In Taiwan, people in cities think eating snails is distasteful, that eating them is merely a memory from the time when Taiwan was still agrarian, before the economy took off in the 1970s. But in Indigenous communities, people still collect and raise snails for eating. Gathering and sharing them is not just utilitarian but a major social activity. The Paiwan people in eastern Taiwan use the meat to make our treasured *cinavu*, a food eaten on special occasions such as weddings, festivals, and visits from important guests. The snail-based dishes my Paiwan mother made became a springboard for my research and art in 2009. Every piece of art I make is a process of gathering and sharing. My pieces based on the snail involve a process that traces the animal's migration from Africa to Taiwan via Singapore and are a response to the issues of colonisation and decolonisation from the perspective of the local people.



Figure 2. Chang En-man, still from *Snail Playground*, 2009. Video, 5:46 min. Image courtesy of the artist



Figure 3. Chang En-man, *Fresh Snail*, 2010. Live performance at Hong-gah Museum, Taipei, 30:00 min. Image courtesy of the artist

My first work that centred on the giant African snail was the humorous *Snail Playground* (2009), in which I adhered small models of famous Taiwanese buildings, such as the Taipei 101, onto snail shells, making it appear as if the buildings were slowly crawling on a mound of soil shaped to look like Taiwan (Fig. 2). The following year, I arranged a live art performance called *Fresh Snail* (Fig. 3) in which I described how snails were prepared by my mother. At a local art gallery, I cracked open snail shells for thirty minutes, after which people in the audience were given bags of frozen snail meat, which is how my mother used to give the meat to me. In 2013, for *Snail Dishes Interview Program: Highway No. 9* (Fig. 4), I went to the southeastern county of Taitung, where my mother was born and raised, along the southern portion of Taiwan's Highway No. 9. There I invited locals from the Kanadun, Tjuaqau, and Pacavalj communities to be interviewed and give demonstrations on how to cook snails. For this piece and *Fresh Snail*, I tried to highlight how Indigenous people view the snails and the relationship between Indigenous Taiwanese cultures and the snails. I realised that the everyday task of gathering snails has integrated these introduced animals into local cultures. By sharing these dishes, social networks among people have been established and linked, as evidenced in the way my mother would prepare snail dishes and give them to us to maintain her connection with us.

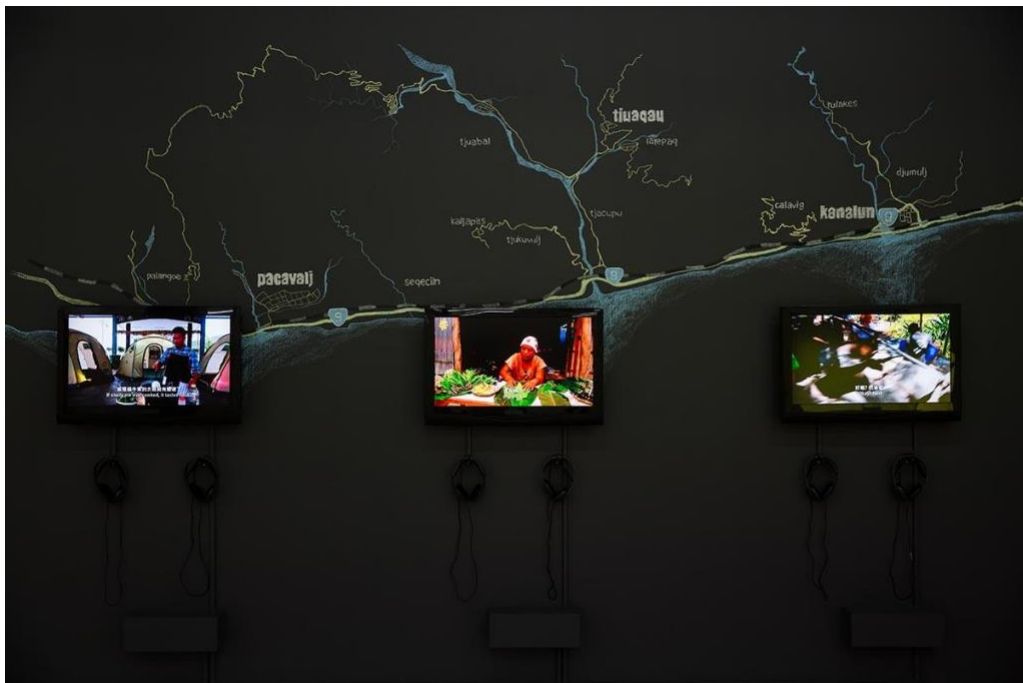


Figure 4. Chang En-man, still from *Snail Dishes Interview Program: Highway No. 9*, 2013. Three-channel video (24:36, 21:53, and 20:39). Image courtesy of Singapore Biennale 2019

In June 2019, I attended an art event in Singapore in which Malay artist Ila and Peranakan artist Kin placed their dishes together on a large mat, forming a fusion that prompted me to want to collaborate with them (Fig. 5). I discovered that even though Singapore had been a major hub for the spread of the giant African snail, people there no longer ate them. I decided to collaborate with Kin and Ila to create snail dishes with a Southeast Asian flavour for the 2019 Singapore Biennale (Fig. 6). Thinking of the slime trails left by the snails as a metaphor for the marks of colonial expansion, I explored the hybridisation and transformation of culture in various places. Through recipes from many countries and their differing ingredients, cooking methods, and accompanying vegetables—in addition to the need to find substitute ingredients because colonisers forced our ancestors to migrate to different locales—the artists and I discussed our historical connections. In this way, we worked together to eliminate the slime of colonialism that kept being secreted and to give the snail meat the most delectable local flavour.⁵



Figure 5. Malay artist Ila (bottom left, brown shirt) and Peranakan artist Kin placing their cuisine together at an art event in Singapore, June 2019. Image courtesy of the artist



Figure 6. Peranakan artist Kin, who was born and raised in Singapore, created a snail dish for the author called “Snails on *buah keluak* soil and butterfly pea flower.” The dish simulates snails crawling on soil and eating flowers. The “soil” is made from *buah keluak*, an important ingredient in Peranakan traditional cuisine. Image courtesy of the artist

A major aspect of processing snail meat is removing the slime—a must to ensure good flavour. Since I view the slime as comparable to the marks left behind by colonisers, its removal is akin to the attempt to remove the negative effects of colonisation. Such understanding prompted me to further probe how Indigenous people have responded to the cultural discontinuity that resulted from colonisation and how they have integrated things brought by colonisers (such as the snail) into their culture. This also piqued my interest in learning about the attitudes of people in other countries toward things brought by colonisers. On this journey of exploration, including the collection of plants and vegetables used for making snail-based dishes, I created a foodscape map using embroidery, a highly significant part of my Paiwan culture.

Navigation System: Course and Paper Mulberry Trees

Sewing and textile arts are important media for me. Having grown up in a city, the experience that has made the deepest impression on me since returning to my mother’s community of Pacavalj is learning the cross-stitching of our traditional attire. Cross-stitching is a type of sewing in which X-shaped stitches are made on

even-weave fabric to produce geometric figures and shapes as well as symmetrical and repetitive motifs. The book *Writing Script in the Indigenous Village: Course* describes how Taiwanese Indigenous women gently “write” by substituting a needle for a pen and thread for ink, and how they have examined old articles of clothing kept in museums to find out how people of the past stitched.⁶ The word “course” in the title refers to the navigation term used to mean a route from point A to point B. Cross-stitching, an easy-to-learn type of stitching, became like a compass for me, guiding me in mending my mother’s culture.



Figure 7. Chang En-man, *Snail Paradise: Preface* (detail), 2019. A pair of men's rear-open pants with embroidered images of varying dimensions. Exhibited at *The Middleman, the Backpacker, the Alien Species, and the Time Traveller*, TKG+, Taiwan, July 20, 2019–September 8, 2019. Image courtesy of the artist

The hierarchical society of the Paiwan people is basically divided into nobles and commoners, whose social status and even clan history are designated by the patterns adorning their clothing and accessories. With the loss of cultural knowledge among the younger generation, identity and social status are

becoming less well known; people no longer know the significance of the sewn patterns or how to wear traditional clothing properly. Since this is happening to Paiwan people, I thought I should write a history of myself, the locality, and the world through cross-stitching. I made a pair of pants based on the style of traditional pants for men from Pacavalj, on which I stitched imagery of warriors going out to headhunt, snails, and two suns (representing two colonial stories that Taiwanese Indigenous people have lived through—the rising sun of the Japanese Empire’s flag and the bright sun against a blue sky of the Chinese Kuomintang’s flag) (Fig. 7–8). These pants help patch the holes in our culture resulting from colonisation. The imagery is a record of history and may serve as a reference for our tradition in the future.



Figure 8. Chang En-man, *Snail Paradise: Preface*, 2019. Mixed media installation with video (3:25 min) and three traditional pairs of men’s rear-open pants with embroidered images of varying dimensions. Exhibited at *The Middleman, the Backpacker, the Alien Species, and the Time Traveller*, TKG+, Taiwan, July 20, 2019–September 8, 2019. Image courtesy of TKG+



Figure 9. Chang En-man, *Snail Paradise*, 2019. Installation with projection on embroidered screen, 300 x 200 cm. Exhibited at Luodong Cultural Factory, Yilan, Taiwan, Photograph by Sing-ying Wu

By looking at the process of modernisation in recent history, I am figuring out how and with what attitude we should respond to globalisation. Perhaps the giant African snail's home of East Africa will provide answers. I have recorded the history of the snail's introduction by colonisers through cross-stitching on a screen (Fig. 9). This work also incorporates a number of cross-stitch patterns—some are traditional, while others are my own creations based on what I have learned about the giant African snail being brought to Taiwan and becoming part of the local diet. For the Paiwan, who did not have a system of writing to record history, embroidery served as a substitute. The patterns I created may be used by the Paiwan as symbols of their identity. The point of my art is not to criticise the history of colonialism but to focus on how Taiwanese Indigenous people, to their own benefit, transformed certain effects of the colonisers.

Another motif I stitched onto the pants, and in other works, is that of a paper mulberry tree (Fig. 10). While collecting ingredients for snail dishes, I learned about the leaves of the paper mulberry, a native species of Taiwan, which make removing snail slime—an otherwise trying task—very easy. The snails from East Africa and the paper mulberry trees from Taiwan form a complex network through which I have explored the history of the island resulting from colonisation.



Figure 10. Chang En-man, *Snail Paradise Trilogy: Setting Sail or Final Chapter* (detail), 2021. Nine pieces of embroidery in Plexiglas, 16 x 16 x 2 cm each. Installed at the Pan-Austro-Nesian Arts Festival exhibition, Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, Taiwan, July 17–October 31, 2021. Image courtesy of the artist

A Griot in an Indigenous Village in Taiwan

There will always be debates about origin (or authenticity), whether it be in relation to food or the human race. In my art, I focus on the interaction and integration that takes place when different communities of people make contact. I first looked for answers to my questions by researching the cooking of snails, which in turn influenced my art. Since the protagonist of this story came from Africa, I looked for clues in the Out of Africa theory which argues that all humans can be traced back to a population of gracile *Australopithecus* in East Africa, but African history was only orally transmitted.⁷ In West Africa, people known as *griots* are repositories of stories whose job it is to travel and spread information.⁸ According to the influential Malian writer Amadou Hampâté Bâ (1901–1991), “In Africa, when an old man dies, a library burns down,” which is an apt description

of what is happening in my mother's culture.⁹ In Pacavalj lives a young carrier of culture, much like a *griot*, named Sedjam Takivan Kavunga. He is said to have been raised by ten of the wise elderly people in the community and is highly skilled in numerous areas of traditional handicraft, agriculture, singing, and dance. He also has a deep understanding of his mother tongue, the Paiwan language, including archaic terms. With the spirits of his ancestors inside him, he sang an ancient rain prayer for me, bringing conclusion to my snail series and seemingly seeing me off on my "Out of Africa" journey. My recent artwork *Snail Paradise Trilogy: Setting Sail or Closing Chapter* (2021) includes a series of cooking recipes, embroideries, mappings, interviews, collaborative projects, and multimedia works inspired by the spread of giant African Snails (Fig. 11). While creating these pieces of art, I sang traditional Paiwan songs. For the Paiwan, who have no writing system, song is a method of recording and transmitting history and culture. I specifically asked Sedjam Takivan Kavunga to sing a rain prayer for me as a means of calling snails out (as they usually come out after a rain) and metaphorically referring to the re-emergence of the marks of colonialism.



Figure 11. Chang En-man, *Snail Paradise Trilogy: Setting Sail or Final Chapter*, 2021. Installation comprising painted boat (50 x 100 x 400 cm); projection (15:28 min); video (14:35 min); and embroidery, nine pieces of 16 x 16 x 2 cm. Exhibited at the Pan-Austro-Nesian Arts Festival exhibition, Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, Taiwan, July 17, 2021–October 31, 2021. Photograph by Hung-long Lin. Courtesy of the artist

So, am I setting sail or is this already the final chapter? The subject of my work is Taiwanese Indigenous history, but snails are my main interface for communicating that history. What I am concerned with is how culture can transform and develop on its own and how the colonised individual deals with colonisation. Taiwanese Indigenous people of the past may have just been ordinary people who had little power to resist their colonisers, but you can see how they coped by looking at their use of one of the effects of colonisation—snails. I have learned from and been creatively inspired by how my people responded to colonisation.

In looking back to further understand the value of tradition and its feasibility in the modern era, I have considered precious things that people have come to take for granted. I wish to show that Taiwan is a rich land with extensive cultural variety. The snail's spiral movements are by chance, not choice, and the spiral shapes evoke the multiple paths of colonisation, the way the snail expands on its own after being brought to Taiwan by humans, just as local peoples' responses are manifold. My snail series illustrates an evolution of interactions between human, animal, and environment— and incorporates traditional food and modernity. I wish to transcend colonialism and anti-colonial forces, leading to the path of decolonisation practice through cooperation, sharing, exchange, and transmission based on symbiosis, coexistence, and shared concepts.

Chang En-man was born in Taitung, Taiwan, and currently lives and works in Taipei. Her artistic practice, which includes film, photography, sculpture, and project-oriented works, explores the intertwining relationships between Taiwanese Indigenous peoples and their land in the face of colonisation. She holds an MFA in plastic arts from the Graduate School of Plastic Arts, National Taiwan University of Arts. Chang has had several solo exhibitions, and her work has been featured in the Taipei Biennial (2014), the Taiwan Biennial (2018), the Istanbul Biennial (2019), the Singapore Biennale, (2019), Kathmandu Triennale (2022), and documenta fifteen (2022).

Notes

¹ Kathy Willis and Carolyn Fry, *Plants: From Roots to Riches* (London: John Murray, 2015), 24–5.

² Albert R. Mead, *The Giant African Snail: A Problem in Economic Malacology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 5.

³ Zhu Yao-yi 朱耀沂, *台灣昆蟲學史話 (1684–1945)* [*History of Insects in Taiwan (1684–1945)*] (Taipei: Yushan Publishing Company, 2005), 304–7.

⁴ Global Invasive Species Database, “100 of the World’s Worst Invasive Alien Species,” http://www.iucngisd.org/gisd/100_worst.php.

⁵ Chang En-Man, ila, Kin Chui, *NUSANTARA ARCHIVE 10: Chang En-Man - Snail Paradise* (Taipei: No Man’s Land / Digital Art Foundation, 2019), <http://www.heath.tw/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/na10.pdf>.

⁶ Lin Pei-jun 林佩君, *部落書寫體：針路* [*Writing Script in the Indigenous Village: Course*] (Taitung: Ata, 2016), 11.

⁷ William A. Haviland; Harald E. L. Prins; Dana Walrath; and Bunny McBride, *The Essence of Anthropology* (Cengage Learning, 2009), 90.

⁸ Birago Diop, 阿瑪杜·庫巴的非洲寓言 [*Les Contes d’Amadou Koumba*], trans. Du Qiu-zong 杜邱宗 (Taipei: Homeward Publishing, 2015), 4–5.

⁹ Ibid.

**KAIHAUKAI ART COLLECTIVE
(RON BULL AND SIMON KAAN)**

***Mana i te Whenua: Relationships with Place
and Sovereignty***

Abstract

Kaihaukai is a term that describes the sharing and exchanging of traditional foods, an important customary practice for Māori. The Kaihaukai Art Collective centres on the mahika kai (food gathering/processing) of the Ngāi Tahu (Indigenous peoples of Southern New Zealand), which relates to working with traditional foods in their place of origin and includes preparation, gathering, eating, and sharing. Mahika kai assists in the transfer of knowledge and continuation of cultural practices, some of which are at risk of being lost.

This paper discusses Kaihauka Art Collective's contribution to the Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter exhibition, shown at Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand from November 2019 to July 2020. The exhibition centred around the acquisition of a painting by William Hodges, which depicts a hulled Māori canoe beside a waterfall in Tamatea (Dusky Sound). The painting was shown with works by renowned New Zealand artists that responded to it.

Kaihaukai Art Collective's response to the exhibition culminated in an installation that included a feast that took place within the gallery. The feast was a narrative that participants consumed in four parts—Ko Te Tai Ao, Ahi Kaa, Disturbed Earth, and Vermin. Through doing this, they became complicit in the resulting legacy of their own encounter with Tamatea. The meal's remaining detritus—the shells, bones, and other waste—was collected in the form of a midden, a tangible reminder of impact and disruption. This discussion of the installation is contextualised by an exploration of the Māori term mana whenua (relationship to place) and its relationship to mana i te whenua (authority from land).

Keywords: *mana whenua, Māori land rights, installation art, relational art, traditional food, First Nations, Aotearoa New Zealand*

The exhibition *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter* was shown at Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, from November 9, 2019 to July 26, 2020.¹ It centred around Tamatea (Dusky Sound), an inlet in

southwestern New Zealand, and included the painting by William Hodges *Waterfall in Dusky Bay with Maori Canoe*, which depicts a double-hulled, Māori canoe beside a waterfall in Tamatea.² Hodges was on board Captain Cook's second voyage to New Zealand, during which first contact with our peoples in the southern areas occurred at Tamatea in 1773. While the Hodges painting was the centrepiece of the Te Papa exhibition, it was contextualized by being shown alongside archaeological artifacts /*Ngāi Tahu whānui taoka* and works of art that ranged from the written word to glass plate photography and water colours by prominent New Zealand artists.³ Each artist's interpretation re-envisioned a scene of Tamatea and its environment—including the water, land, and wildlife—through a different cultural lens and with the personal narrative of its artist. These were carefully curated by Te Papa in order to promote a wide-ranging conversation about Tamatea and its history, as told and retold by those who have been engaged with it, and to question the legacy of those encounters. The Kaihaukai Art Collective was invited to consider a live response to the art in the exhibition.

The Kaihaukai Art Collective is a collaboration of mainly Indigenous New Zealand artists that was established in 2012. Its primary members are Simon Kaan and Ron Bull, with a fluid membership of invited collaborators. The main focus of the collective is to capture, maintain, curate, and share the stories around *mahika kai*, traditional food gathering and preparation practices of the Indigenous people of Southern New Zealand.

As the exhibition was already open when we were invited to respond to it, the Kaihaukai Art Collective was able to view the individual works, experience the exhibition as a whole, and, most importantly for the collective, to consider the subtitle of the exhibition: "Legacies of Encounter." The latter prompted vigorous discussion within the collective around visitation, impact, intent, ownership, and sovereignty. These topics were all considered, responded to, and embedded within the installation, but for the collective, sovereignty became the focal point of our response. Our contemplation of the artists' works within the exhibition raised questions for us: Does the depiction and interpretation of place imply a sense of ownership over that place? Can they offer a form a sovereignty by capturing and defining the essence of place? What is each artist's connection to the *whakapapa* of the place?⁴ What is their narrative of the place and how does it interact and/or interrupt Indigenous narratives?

One of the founding principles of the Kaihaukai Art Collective is to use *mahika kai* in a way that connects people to landscapes. From a localised Southern New Zealand perspective, this connection is a foundation of *whakapapa*. This installation, a curatorial response to the Te Papa *Tamatea* exhibition included the

gathering of food; the inclusion of various food practitioners; a live soundscape from Mara T.K. and a multi-media projection by Alex Montieth; and, importantly, including the stories of others who have a connection to the landscape in question.⁵ These stories were shared in *wanaka*, a collective learning and sharing experience. We endeavour to incorporate as many connected voices as possible into our work; we believe the collective's response should not just be an *artistic* perspective, but represent the perspectives of many people connected through *whakapapa*.

In this instance, our curation of these voices and memories culminated in the form of a *hakari*, a feast within the confines of the gallery itself, amongst the other artworks in the exhibition that held the memories and narratives of their creators. While the memories and narratives in the artworks could be consumed visually, feasting required our participants to consume our art narrative orally, presented in the form of a four-course degustation meal. Each course included a narrative reflecting the *whakapapa* of Tamatea through time, and the interactions and interruptions of people as they move through the landscape. The menu was structured around four narratives, one per course:

Ko Te Tai Ao (the natural world), the land and sea prior to human contact

- Steamed Whole Fish “swimming” through Roasted Seaweed
- Cockles Baked in Bull Kelp
- Fresh Sea Urchin in Kombu Soup

Ahi Kaa (the long-burning fires⁶), the light footprint of Iwi Māori

- Smoked Abalone served with its Roe
- Crispy Skin Boiled Muttonbird on the Bone
- Fermented Seaweed and Muttonbird Broth

Disturbed Earth, the impact of European explorers and settlers

- Edible Earth (dried olives, mixed nuts, and seeds)
- Heritage Potatoes and Carrots
- Fresh Spruce Beer

Vermin, exotic predators introduced into the landscape by settlers

- Venison Tartar
- Wild Game on Seedless Lavash Cracker
- Warm *Manaka* Tea

Kaihaukai Art Collective’s invitation to feast, to partake in the four courses, was an invitation to consume the four narrative parts. In doing this, the guests in the gallery transitioned from being passive consumers of the artworks to literally consuming the narrative; through the act of eating, they became complicit in constructing their own legacy of an encounter with Tamatea/Dusky Sound. As each course was introduced, it was accompanied by a description of what it was and its importance within the larger narrative. Direct connections between the art and the people, the people and the food, and the food and the land were made. We created a *whakapapa* connection within the gallery. The detritus that remained after this meal—the shells, bones, and other waste—was collected and displayed in the form of a midden, a tangible reminder of impact and disruption. In its own way this midden was also a tangible display of *whakapapa*, the layering of time, experience, and narrative both of Tamatea and of the event within the gallery.

***Whakapapa* and Sovereignty**

The acceptance of the idea of a *whakapapa* connection to the land, and the resources that are derived from it, is underpinned by an ideology that gives preference to Indigenous perspectives of connection to land: “One does not own the land. One belongs to the land.”⁷ The fundamental belief systems that go with *whakapapa* have been challenged through the introduction of an alternate discourse based on land ownership and the Westphalian system of sovereignty that accompanied colonisation: that the state owns the land. This arguably began in earnest in Aotearoa (New Zealand) with its mass settlement by people from the northern hemisphere, preceded by British explorer Captain James Cook. This resulted in the individualisation of land titles and the subsequent alienation of Indigenous peoples from the land to which they belonged, relegating connection to memory.

The term *mana whenua* is often used by Iwi Māori, the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand, when describing their relationships to landscape, places, and resources, and their connection to creation narratives that are used to inform collective and individual identity. These continuous and uninterrupted relationships are told and retold through *whakapapa*, the recounting of the layers of time, experience, and narrative. Breaking this term down, it can be understood as *mana*, a concept that can be interpreted as integrity, and *whenua*, the land. In this regard, *mana whenua* are the people who are responsible for maintaining the

integrity of the landscape. This should not be confused with constructs of ownership of land, as central to the concept of *mana whenua* is the accepted truth that we live under the authority that comes from land, *mana i te whenua*, and that we are mere occupants of place.

The relationship between place and people can be linked to the metanarratives that inform creation stories and give “truth” to the creation of land and all that live within it. This also extends to stories of exploration and discovery—the first human footprints and impact on the land—and the deeds and accomplishments of our relations in previous generations. These stories provide individuals and collectives with a direct connection to *whakapapa* and, therefore, justification of the rights to live on the landscape, as well as the important obligations that extend from this. These obligations include maintaining the integrity of the landscape for the benefit of the land itself, but also for the generations to come afterwards: *whakapapa*.



Figure 1. Alex Monteith, still from *Kā paroro o haumumu: Coastal Flows / Coastal Incursions*, 2019, shown in the Kaihaukai Art Collection installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Courtesy of Alex Monteith.

The integrity of the land is just that; not claimed, not owned, not disturbed, not exploited—land has its own “sovereignty.” Sovereignty as a construct (cultural episteme) was foreign to Māori people before the arrival of Europeans. Relationship to the land is highlighted in He Whakaputanga, the Declaration of Independence, signed in 1835. This document acknowledges Iwi Māori as holding

social and political control in the islands now known as New Zealand: “It asserted that sovereign power and authority in the land (*‘Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te w[h]enua’*) resided with Te Whakaminenga, the Confederation of United Tribes, and that no foreigners could make laws.”⁸ Within the text, there is a discrepancy between words and concepts stated in English and those in Te Reo Māori (the Māori language), particularly the phrases “Sovereign Power/*Ko Te Kingitanga*” and “Authority in the Land/*Mana i te Whenua*.” These issues form the basis of the discussion in this paper and the installation that is discussed as a whole.



Figure 2. *Pōhā*: traditional food storage receptacles constructed from Southern bull kelp. These were used in the installation to cook and present food for the hākari. Detail from the Kaihaukai installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photograph by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Ko Te Tai Ao

As introduced above, the first representation of the layers or narratives of *whakapapa* in the Kaihaukai Art Collective’s *hākari* was *Ko Te Tai Ao*, the natural world (Figs. 1–3). This was, originally, a place that was undisturbed, untouched by

people. Tamatea was full of life both below and above water—fish, birds, and vegetation. All life forms worked symbiotically with one another. Our ancestors worked with the seaweed, with the fish, and with the birds. We are related, we share *whakapapa*.



Figure 3. Detail of “*Ko Te Tai Ao*,” the first course of the Kaihaukai installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photograph by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

The first dishes that were prepared and presented as part of the installation feast tried to capture the natural flowing kelps and other seaweeds. Whole steamed fish were represented as gliding through the weeds, while shellfish and *tuaki* (cockles) were nurtured in kelp. As much as possible, the *mana* (integrity) of the constituent parts was left intact, with as little alteration and adulteration of the essence of the beings that lived and thrived in the water and on the land as possible—it was presented as untouched, natural, sovereign.

Ahi Kaa

The first fires that were lit through human occupation in the landscape came via explorers from Eastern Polynesia, around 850 CE. The following *pepeha*, a saying

that has been handed down through oral traditions from the *tūpuna* (ancestors), tells us:

Ko Rakaihautu te takata nana I timata te ahi kei ruka I tenei motu.
(It was Rakaihautu that first lit fires on this island.)

This *pepeha* speaks truth to the original human inhabitants of the landscape, and connecting to it allows the descendants of these people the rights and obligations to the resources of that natural environment.⁹



Figure 4. Detail of “Ahi Kaa,” the second course of the Kaihaukai installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photograph by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Ahi (fire) can manifest itself in two ways: practically and metaphorically. The practical fire is used to maintain physical wellbeing: heat, light, cooking. In the installation, the practical fire was used to modify aspects of the natural environment: *paua* (abalone) was smoked, *titi* (sooty shearwater) were boiled, *kina* (sea urchin) were poached, and the people were kept warm (Fig. 4).

However, throughout the cooking transformation process, the *mana* of the food items and the sea and land that they came from was kept at the forefront of our minds. The “right” to enjoy what has been provided for us, taking the *paua*, *titi*, and *kina* from their home, is keenly balanced with the “obligation” of ensuring

that we maintain the *mana*. This is *whakapapa*. Through the metanarratives that have been handed down through time, we can claim connection to *tupuna*. Through metanarrative, our *whakapapa* also connects us to Takaroa (the Sea), Papatūānuku (the Land), and Rakinui (the Sky).¹⁰ We have the right to enjoy and we have the obligation to both sustain and regenerate the natural world.



Figure 5. Detail of “Disturbed Earth,” the third course of the Kaihaukai installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photograph by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Disturbed Earth

It is well documented in ship logs and associated writings that Cook’s crew brought with them foods and agricultural processes from England and planted a garden including carrots and potatoes at Tamatea.¹¹ In doing this, the *takata pora* (the people of the boats; British settlers) introduced their ways to the layers of stories, knowledge, and landscape; they did not adapt to what existed, but turned the earth, acclimatising to the landscape by changing it. There was an imposition of colonial sovereignty. The British Crown assumed rights over the land and all that lived within it.

The British settlers’ interactions were more exploitative than those that had come before. They imposed themselves into the land, disturbed the land. The interactions of Cook’s expedition set the pathway for future extractive industries. Sealing gangs began to arrive and, by the 1820s, had built relationships with the

people of Rakaihautu and produced offspring who shared the *whakapapa* lineage of both parents.¹² Subsequent over-exploitation of the seal population for commercial reasons led seamlessly into shore-based whaling in the waters of Te Rua o Te Moko.¹³ These activities were cogs in the industrial mechanisms that paved the way for the subsequent full-scale colonial settlement of New Zealand and its annexation into the British Empire, after the Declaration of Independence (1835) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi (1840) the fundamental intention of this was the acquisition of sovereignty on behalf of the British Crown.

The third course of our installation for *Tamatea*, “Disturbed Earth,” reimagined Cook’s gardens. The edible “earth” (dried olives, seeds, and nuts) was “planted” with the foreigners’ potatoes and carrots (Fig. 5). The dirt itself was flavoured through the infusion of peat smoke, with the peat extracted from the earth of Tamatea itself. The peat imparted the essence of the landscape to the participants and was one of only three elements taken from the natural environment of Tamatea. Participants were encouraged to eat the dirt, carrots, and potatoes with their hands. By making them complicit in the activities of disturbing the earth with their own hands, we hoped they would realise that in some way they/we all disturb the earth through even the most mundane of activities.



Figure 6. Detail of “Vermin,” the fourth course of the Kaihaukai installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photograph by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Vermin

The result of direct human contact with the land is undeniable. The land is disturbed, and the fish, birds, and plants are under threat. Introduced species, particularly deer and rats, are the main inhabitants of Tamatea. The once deafening bird songs are now quiet: the trees themselves are now prey, the vermin invades and prevails, claiming sovereignty.

The fourth food interpretation consisted of undistinguishable meat-based products, served on top of the disturbed earth of Cook's Garden (Fig. 6). The meat, wild deer, was taken from the hills in Tamatea. They are one of the main predators on the land, and have had a massive negative impact on the natural environment. The other main predator is the rat.

This dish was served with the narrative of the legacy of our encounters: a once pristine environment is now under severe threat due to overfishing and external environmental issues including predation. The source of the meat was disclosed; it was the only primary food element that had been harvested from Tamatea due to the extreme pressure on the native foods both above and below the water.



Figure 7. Scenes from the Kaihaukai Art Collective installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photographs by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Conclusion

In the Kaihaukai Art Collective’s response to the *Tamatea exhibition*, various legacies of encounter were considered through the footprints of the people who are of the land, feeding themselves and each other on *whakapapa* (Fig. 7). Each of the *whakapapa* layers of our interactions with place—*Ahi Kaa*, *mana whenua*, *mana i te whenua* (keeping the fires burning, maintaining the fires, maintaining the authority of the land)—has left a footprint, some deeper and more destructive than others, from the purity of the natural environment, the light touch of the Indigenous peoples, to the overturning of the earth and subsequent infestation of vermin. The shells, the bones, the feasting, the stories, and the people all return to the earth.



Figure 8. Detail of midden following the Kaihaukai Art Collective installation responding to *Tamatea: He Tūtakinga Tuku Iho/Legacies of Encounter*, Te Papa Tongarewa, March 3, 2020. Photograph by Jo Moore. Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Given correct curatorial attention, the visual representation of what both Cook and Hodges may have encountered in *Tamatea* may last for generations to come (as may the Westphalian tradition of sovereignty within the New Zealand socio-political history). It has already outlived *Tamatea: Legacies of Encounter* as

an exhibition. Indeed, the Kauhaukai Art Collective's art/food installation response to the exhibition retains its power as memory, like the memories and conversations that have been held in homes and cafes, and around fires for many generations.

Tamatea sits silently and patiently, waiting for the exhibition to close, for the installation to be forgotten, for the feast to end. It is waiting to consume all into the midden (Fig. 8), the *mana*, the integrity of all things. It is waiting to return to the earth, *mana i te whenua*, the owner of the layers, the *whakapapa*—sovereignty.

The Kauhaukai Art Collective—Simon Kaan (Kai Tahu/Chinese/Pākehā) and Ron Bull (Kai Tahu/Pākehā)—was first conceived as a cultural food exchange to share food practices between the Ngāi Tahu (Indigenous peoples of Southern New Zealand) and the Native American Pueblo people in New Mexico. The project was presented at the 2012 International Symposium of Electronic Arts, held in Santa Fe. Since then, the collective has worked with artists and Indigenous communities to initiate art projects that explore food and identity and how this informs contemporary cultural practice.

Notes

¹ More information about the exhibition is available on the website of the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa:

<https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/tamatea-legacies-encounter>.

² William Hodges, *Waterfall in Dusky Bay with Maori Canoe*, 1776, oil on panel. Purchased in 2019 with assistance from Lottery Grants Board, Tuia Encounters—250 Fund. Te Papa (2019-0003-1). The painting may be viewed through the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's online collections,

<https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1728134>

³ Many of the words and phrases within this article reflect a South Island Māori dialect and may differ slightly from a version of te reo Māori with which the reader may be more accustomed.

⁴ The term *whakapapa* is generally used to indicate genealogy. However, this is a very narrow construct and, with any concept translated from one cultural episteme into another, we lose the true meaning of that concept. Within this conversation, *whakapapa* will relate to the layering of people (genealogy), time (a seamless chronology), and experience with explicit reference to how this relates to landscape as part of the *whakapapa* of people.

⁵ This iteration of the Kauhaukai collective included Ron Bull and Simon Kaan as well as live audio works from Mara T.K. and Alex Montieth.

⁶ *Ahi Kaa* literally translates as “long burning fires.” This phrase is used as a metaphor for Indigenous peoples in New Zealand in relation to continuous contact within place.

⁷ Eddie Durie, “The Law and the Land,” in *Te Whenua Te Iwi, The Land and the People*, ed. Jock Phillips (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 78.

⁸ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, “New Zealand History, *Nga korero a ipurangi o Aotearoa*,” “He Whakaputanga – Declaration of Independence – Page 1 – Introduction,” updated January 13, 2022,

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/declaration-of-independence-taming-the-frontier>

⁹ The concept of *pepeha* is too complicated to explain in a translation of a single word. *Pepeha* is a proclamation that, when evoked, links the speaker to a *whakapapa*, a line of genealogy, experiences, and belief systems whose connection provide the basis for identity, belonging, and practice.

¹⁰ In the South Island Māori dialect, Takaroa and Rakinui refer to Tangaroa and Rangi-nui, respectively.

¹¹ Captain Cook Society, “225 Years Ago: April–June 1773,” accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.captaincooksociety.com/home/detail/225-years-ago-april-june-1773>

¹² Angela Middleton, *Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou): From Cultural Encounter to Nature Conservation* (Invercargil, New Zealand: Department of Conservation, Southland Conservancy, 2007), https://www.academia.edu/944430/Two_Hundred_Years_on_Codfish_Island_Whenuahou_From_Cultural_Encounter_to_Nature_Conservation

¹³ Te Rua o Te Moko is the name given to what is now called Fiordland in Southern New Zealand. The name likens the landscape to the pits of fires that were lit to capture the creosote used in tattooing practices. It connects to the Tamatea *purakau* (traditional) narrative.

FANG CHUN-WEI

Introduction to “Land and Community”

Abstract

This essay introduces the second section of “Grounded in Place: Dialogues between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan and, Aotearoa,” a special issue of Pacific Arts. “Land and Community” includes papers written by First Nations artists Judy Watson (Australia), Akac Orat (Taiwan), and Areta Wilkinson (Aotearoa New Zealand). These artists discuss their recent works that investigate the land and water as sources of learning, places of ancestral affiliation, parts of their community and ethnic identity, sites of contestation, and places through which to assert sovereignty in the face of the lasting effects of colonisation.

Keywords: *Justice, landscape, colonial, collaboration, decolonise, Indigenise*

In this section of “Grounded in Place,” titled “Land and Community,” three First Nations artists—Judy Watson (Australia), Akac Orat (Taiwan), and Areta Wilkinson (Aotearoa New Zealand)—discuss their recent works that investigate the land and water as sources of learning, places of ancestral affiliation, aspects of their community and ethnic identity, sites of contestation, and places through which to assert sovereignty in the face of the lasting effects of colonisation. Through their efforts, these artists have managed to reconnect with their lands and empower their communities.

Judy Watson contributes a visual essay based on the presentation she delivered at the October 2021 “Grounded in Place” symposium. It traces a body of work inspired by the ongoing connection Watson’s Waanyi community has to water and her investigations into the many massacres that have occurred over Australia’s scarred history. Framed within photographic documentation of her ancestors’ Country, the Boodjamulla National Park (Lawn Hill Gorge) in North West Queensland, Watson’s visual essay offers ruminations on the vital qualities of water and our role in preserving it.

In his paper, Taiwanese Indigenous artist and curator Akac Orat relates how his construction of a traditional Amis house was not about cultural revival nor an attempt to create a tourist attraction. Rather, it was an effort to rebuild relationships between humans, the land, and the environment; reconnect with

ancestral lands; and expose the ongoing struggles between Taiwanese Indigenous peoples and the nation-state. The artist imparts how Taiwanese Indigenous peoples' land is now complicated with numerous statutes and acts that do not comply with Indigenous peoples' philosophies and values. The existence of these forms of legislation demonstrates that Taiwanese Indigenous people are still in a colonial state, which is the major factor preventing them from being able to reconnect with their ancestral land and cultural values.

Māori artist Areta Wilkinson explores the intersection of applied art, specifically contemporary jewellery, as a form of knowledge and practice with Māori philosophies, especially *whakapapa* (genealogy connections) and a worldview informed by Ngāi Tahu perspectives. Her essay reflects on how Paemanu, a kin group of Ngāi Tahu contemporary artists, changed the curatorial paradigm at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery (DPAG). Since 2018, Paemanu has worked collaboratively with DPAG to curate two exhibitions, *Hurahia ana kā Whetū—Unveiling the Stars* (2021–22) and *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi* (2021–22), which are both the result of Paemanu's desire to demonstrate *mātauranga* (Māori values, concepts, and ideas) within a colonial art institution. Wilkinson argues that art institutions such as DPAG typically lack Māori perspectives and works of art. Through these exhibitions, it became possible to change the existing focus on Western art, and Wilkinson's contribution demonstrates salient efforts to decolonise and indigenise the gallery.

Dr. Fang Chun-wei is an associate curatorial researcher at the National Museum of Prehistory in Taiwan and an adjunct associate professor at National Taitung University. For two decades, he has conducted research on Austronesian communities in Taiwan, Indonesia, and Fiji. He has also been involved in Indigenous museum development and training projects in Taiwan since 2017. His work has focused on the cross-cultural and comparative studies of museological and cultural diversity. He has published on ritual, religious conversion, and emerging cultural revitalisation among Taiwan's Indigenous Bunun people, and has edited two books on Atayal weaving.

JUDY WATSON

Across Country: Waterlines

Abstract

This visual essay is an edited transcript of a presentation delivered by Judy Watson given in the 2021 symposium “Grounded in Place: Dialogues Between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa.” The artist speaks of her Waanyi Country, near Boodjamulla National Park (Lawn Hill Gorge) in north-west Queensland, Australia, and discusses a number of her artworks that reflect her ongoing investigation into water, massacres, and connections to Country.

Keywords: *Indigenous Australian art, Country, connections to water, massacres, colonisation, Waanyi, First Nations art*

Bookended by photographs of Boodjamulla National Park, this visual essay explores a number of works I have created over the years that respond to the themes of water and unspoken violence.¹ Growing up in Brisbane with my immediate family, I was aware of my Waanyi ancestry and was always in contact with my extended family from north-west Queensland. Later in life that I found out more about my culture and Country. My art practice has been a way to connect to this history and the stories of my people.

boodjamulla wanami



Figure 1. Judy Watson, *boodjamulla wanami*, 2019. Still from a single-channel video, sound, 5:41 minutes. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

This is a still from a video of Boodjamulla National Park (Lawn Hill Gorge)—my ancestors' Country—in north-west Queensland (Fig. 1). I wish we had learnt more about Aboriginal histories and other histories of places when I was growing up. A lot of my work takes me into a space of wanting to know what happened before and revealing the layers and history of what lies beneath.

massacre inlet

massacre inlet (Fig. 2) refers to the name of a place in the Gulf of Carpentaria. There are many place names in Australia that are indicative of the massacres that began with first contact and colonisation that occurred across our Country. My great-great-grandmother's survival of a massacre at Lawn Hill meant that her descendants continued her line.



Figure 2. Judy Watson, *massacre inlet*, 1994. Pigment on canvas, 192 x 138 cm. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

a picnic with the natives—the gulf

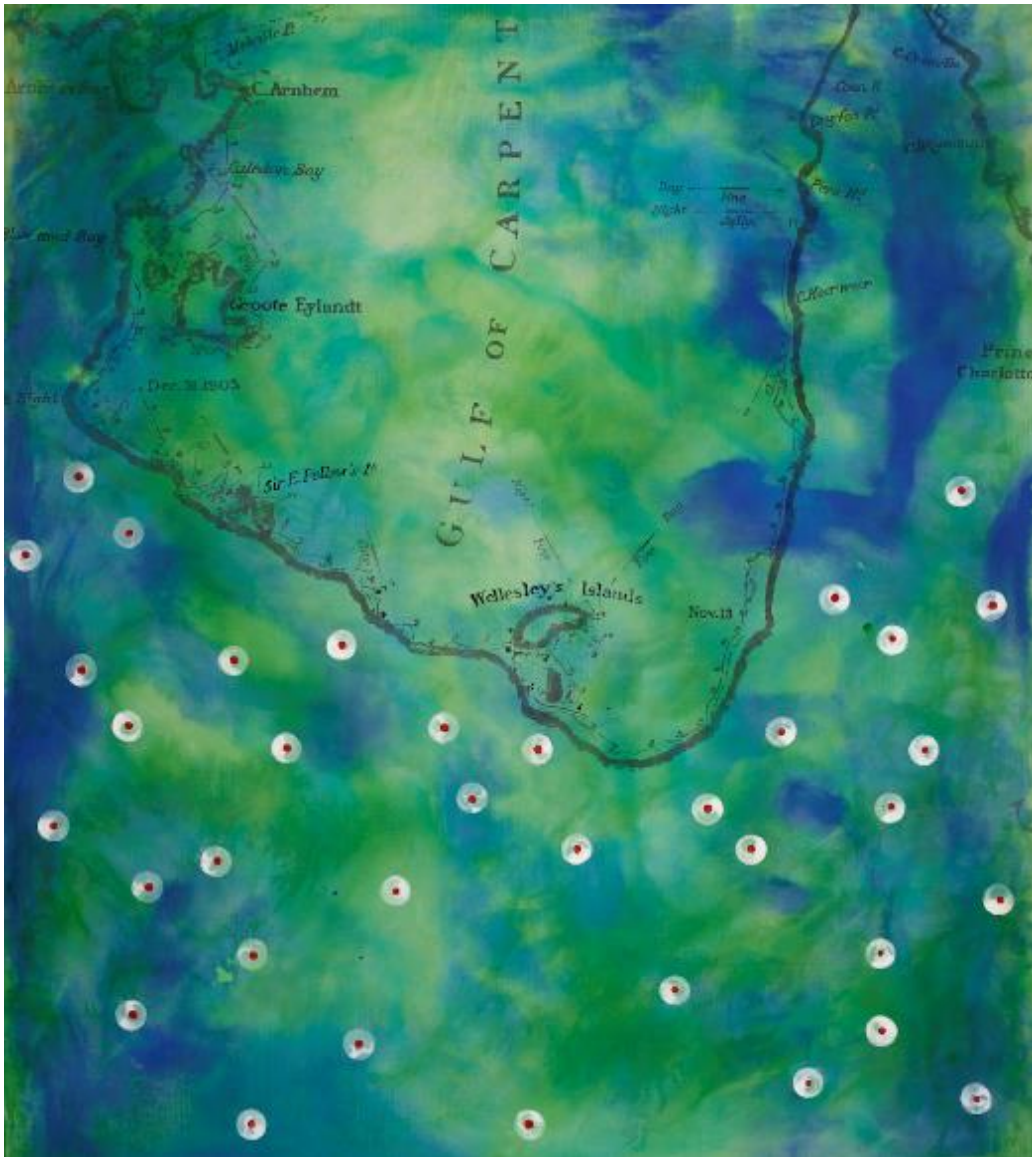


Figure 3. Judy Watson, *a picnic with the natives—the gulf* (detail), 2015. Pigment and acrylic on canvas, 204 x 180 cm. Collection Art Gallery of New South Wales. Photograph by Carl Warner. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

a picnic with the natives—the gulf (Fig. 3) is a work based on the charts of explorer Matthew Flinders, used when he was circumnavigating parts of Australia. It shows the land near the Gulf of Carpentaria. I did some research on massacres across Australia and discovered that there were many in the Gulf of Carpentaria. These

scattergun motifs are not placed exactly on those massacre sites, but as many as these took place, if not more.

waterline



Figure 4. Judy Watson, *waterline*, 2001. Pigment on linen, 224 x 118 cm. Collection of Moree Plains Gallery. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

I've always been interested in bodies of water and their connection to Country. Water is cleansing, purifying, rebirthing. Putting your head under water, listening to subterranean sounds deep within the belly of the water . . . Water is delicious

to swim through, submerge into, and float on. Water is a conduit that connects me to fluid thinking and imaginative ideas. *waterline* (Fig. 4) takes us back to our Country and to a story based on my family history. My great grandmother Mabel caught a fish for her family. My grandmother Grace said: “She gave us the flesh off the backbone, she gave us the best of what she had.” It includes an image of a spine, which is, for me, a symbol of the resilience and strength of Aboriginal women trying to hold Country and culture together and keep their families safe.

spine and teeth (mundirri banga mayi)



Figure 5. Judy Watson, *spine and teeth (mundirri banga mayi)*, 2019. Synthetic polymer paint and graphite on canvas, 262.5 x 181 cm. Collection of Art Gallery of South Australia. Photograph by Carl Warner. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

spine and teeth (mundirri banga mayi) (Fig. 5) is looking at Aboriginal cultural material from my Country and then floating this across the surface. I call blue the colour of memory; it features in a lot of my work. Through the materials I use and the events I reference, I'm trying to retrieve and bring back some of the past to make sense of my present. We all need to pay respect to those who came before us, and we need to continue their work and look after this Country and keep our environment healthy and sustainable for our children and future generations. We must protect our wetlands and cultural resources.

Water is a precious jewel. Water sustains us, feeds our families and our environment. We must all be responsible for its protection and look after our *wanami* ("water" in our language). Water is healing and restorative, not to be wasted, but rather valued as our most important wellspring. Water is a living being and we all need it to sustain life on this planet.

Water is also a weapon. During the Frontier Wars, waterholes were deliberately poisoned and now that poison is seeping out through agricultural runoff, mining, and fracking, with contaminants leaching into our river systems. In 1990, in our Waanyi Country in north-west Queensland, I saw healthy springs bubbling up from an important creek. The next time I saw them, the springs were not visible and the creek was barely running.

string over water (walkurrji kingkarri wanami)

My Aboriginal grandmother once asked her mother about a spring she remembered as a child. Her mother told her that "the Rainbow dried it up." This is a reference to Boodjamulla, the Rainbow Serpent, an important ancestral creator. *string over water (walkurrji kingkarri wanami)* (Fig. 6) directly evokes the generative power of Boodjamulla, with the string indicative of the shape and movements of the serpent. The white pastoralists on the property dynamited the spring my grandmother had asked about in order to get more water.



Figure 6. Judy Watson, *string over water (walkurri kingkarri wanami)*, 2019. Acrylic, graphite, pastel, and watercolour pencil on canvas, 261 x 180.5 cm. Collection of the Art Gallery of South Australia. Photograph by Carl Warner. Courtesy of the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane

boodjamulla wanami



Figure 7. Boodjamulla, Lawn Hill Gorge, 2019. Photograph courtesy of Judy Watson

In our Waanyi Country, the water in Lawn Hill Gorge is blue-green (Fig. 7). This subterranean water flows up from Barkly Tablelands. The water comes to the surface through fissures in the limestone; it's as ancient as the dinosaurs. Beneath some of Australia's islands, a freshwater lens occurs where fresh water floats on top of the denser salt water, sustaining life. Oil spills, unsafe sewerage, and contaminants are compromising these sources of fresh water.

Eighty percent of the springs throughout the Gulf of Carpentaria that were active during early colonisation are now dried up. Why is water being taken from communities that have so little water? Why is water being sold off? Where is the water for the farmers in the communities? And why are we giving our water away when everybody should have water rights, not just billionaires?

Judy Watson was born in Mundubbera, Queensland. Her Aboriginal matrilineal family is from Waanyi Country in north-west Queensland. The artist's process evolves by working from site and memory, revealing Indigenous histories, and following lines of emotional and physical topography that centre on particular places and moments in time. Spanning painting, printmaking, drawing, sculpture, and video, her practice often draws on archival documents and materials—such as maps, letters, and police reports—to unveil institutionalised discrimination against Aboriginal people. Watson has participated in many international and national exhibitions and her work is held in numerous major collections. In recent years, she has completed several major public art commissions across Australia.

Notes

¹ Guest editors' note: This visual essay is based on a presentation by Judy Watson in the 2021 "Grounded in Place" symposium. She speaks of her Waanyi Country, near Boodjamulla National Park (Lawn Hill Gorge) in north-west Queensland, Australia, and discusses a number of her artworks that reflect her ongoing investigation into water and connections to Country. This visual essay was transcribed and edited by Sophie McIntyre and editor Evie Franzidis and revised by the artist.

AKAC ORAT 陳豪毅

Traditional Amis Architecture and Its Environment in a Contemporary Context

Abstract

This essay discusses issues the author encountered while constructing a house in 2020 using traditional methods of the Amis, one of the officially recognised Indigenous groups in Taiwan. The author dealt with many obstacles including legal, environmental, and resource issues. These problems point to the historically disadvantaged status of Indigenous Taiwanese people in terms of land rights. With the help of others in his village, the author completed the construction of the house, an achievement that highlights the challenges faced by Indigenous Taiwanese people wishing to implement traditional building practices and lifestyle in the contemporary context.

Keywords: Amis, Amis architecture, Indigenous, Indigenous land rights, Taiwan, First Nations



Figure 1. View of a traditional Amis house in Madawdaw, Taitung County, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Xiao Juan



Figure 2. Akac Orat using rattan for structural binding on a traditional Amis house, Madawdaw, Taitung County, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Hau En Tsai

In 2020, I built a traditional Amis house (Fig. 1). Over the ten years prior, I acquired the knowledge and skills necessary to accomplish this feat, and I put this knowledge into practice by building workers' huts, hunting shelters, tree houses, and watchtowers. A variety of plants including rattan, sugar palm, bamboo, silver grass, and fan palm can be used in building traditional Amis structures (Fig. 2). The maintenance of the surrounding environment is important as well, the plants mentioned above will thrive when they are trimmed periodically. The current site of the house sits adjacent to the bamboo forest my grandfather took care of since his time. It is intended for the preparation of the construction of the house.

The question people most often ask me is why I wanted to build a traditional Amis house. Some assume that my purpose was to revive traditional cultural practices, while others think my aim was to create a tourist attraction. Neither is correct. Instead, it is because I realized that every aspect of my life requires the space of a traditional house. I have learnt how to hunt, farm, and forage on both land and sea. Killed game needs to be treated and smoked in a house. The plants I enjoy growing and weaving will be used and stored in the house. The smoke from the fireplace in the traditional house helps maintain the

house and preserve the materials inside. With the knowledge, resources, and skills at hand, I was motivated to build the house and decided to recreate the space of the traditional house that can sustain the activities I enjoy doing.



Figure 3. Abandoned traditional Amis house covered with metal sheet, Madawdaw, Taitung County, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Akac Orat

Pre-building Complications

In preparing to build my Amis house, I walked around my village, Madawdaw, trying to find traditional houses which were still being maintained, but to little avail.¹ Those that I did find intact were abandoned and, thus, were in disrepair (Fig. 3). Moreover, only a few people in my village who have experience building such structures are still alive. In the past, the processes of preparing to build and constructing a house were community efforts, and the labour involved would be divided among people of different age groups. One group would be in charge of cutting timber, another would collect cogon grass, and the elderly would shave rattan. In contrast, I worked primarily on my own for two years, collecting the necessary materials from the forest and preparing them myself with the help of volunteers.



Figure 4. Plants used in building traditional Amis houses: cogon grass (left), silvergrass (centre) and thorny bamboo (right). Photograph courtesy of Akac Orat

I gathered bamboo, rattan, and silver grass during autumn and winter (Fig. 4). Because wild cogon grass is now hard to find, I had to buy it from the farm of an elderly couple in a neighbouring village. Fifty years ago, silver grass thrived in coastal Taitung, but due to the extensive use of pesticides and herbicides by farmers and roadside spraying to control the growth of weeds, it and similar plants have diminished and been replaced by other dominant species. I had to search for silver grass on several mountains in order to collect the bare minimum required. Because of legal restrictions, I had to purchase timber for the main structure of the house from the local forestry bureau through a bidding process.² In the past, people would cut timber from their traditional territories three years prior to building their house. After cutting it into the desired shape, they would slowly move the timber down the mountain. The trees they used were *Formosan michelia* and *Zelkova formosana*, which today are rare and very expensive woods. My choices from the forestry bureau were limited by what I could afford, which was mostly pine, Chinese fir, and *Phoebe zhennan* (the latter being the best of the three for construction).

Access to Land and Material

Taiwanese Indigenous people of the past were foragers: materials for their everyday necessities could be found in the forests of their traditional territory. However, since transitional justice has yet to take place, these traditional

territories are owned by the state, which means the resources there are not accessible to them.³ Collecting rattan and bamboo and cutting trees for building are prohibited on these lands under the Forestry Act of 1932. There are historical reasons for the enactment of this law, as well as the Soil and Water Conservation Act of 1994, but they are a direct violation of Taiwanese Indigenous people's right to forage, and the government has offered no satisfactory compromises or alternative solutions.

Although the Council of Agriculture and the Council of Indigenous Peoples issued a joint statement in 2019 entitled "The Lifestyle Habits of Indigenous Peoples and Rules on the Gathering of Forest Resources," permission for Indigenous people to forage at their traditional territories is limited to forest by-products.⁴ Prior to this, foraging had been banned for fifty to sixty years and, subsequently, houses that were built using traditional methods could not be constructed during these decades. More regrettably, during this time the knowledge of plants, the forest, and building-related skills that should have been passed down through the generations was either lost or became fragmented.



Figure 5. Amis elder who had experience building traditional house. He holds a model of the bamboo grid roof that was made by artist. Taitung County, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Akac Orat

In Madawdaw, the *kapot*, an age-grade system that once served as a pillar of the community—enabling the collective process of building a traditional house or carrying out emergency repairs after a typhoon—disappeared more than seventy years ago.⁵ It is now rare to see people working together to build or repair a house in this way. With the introduction of Christianity in the early 1930s and modern medicine, members of the Amis community began to abandon their traditional beliefs, leading to the collapse of the social structure and preventing traditional skills—including the construction of traditional Amis houses—from being passed down (Fig. 5).

In addition, the availability of cheaper and relatively more convenient materials such as plastic, metal, and cement has had a significant impact on the village. It has led people to abandon crafting traditional everyday implements on their own (Fig. 6), and as living in traditional houses became perceived as a sign of poverty and backwardness, cement houses began to take their place.



Figure 6. Household items made of packing straps and rattan by an Amis elder, these baskets were mostly made of rattan in the past. Only a few elders are left in the village who still practice weaving, most of their materials were bought elsewhere as they could hardly harvest natural materials from the mountains on their own. Madawdaw, Taitung county, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Akac Orat

***Malacecay Kita* (Hand in Hand)**

Foraging is vital to Taiwanese Indigenous cultures. Without knowledge of foraging, people lose their understanding of the forests and mountains, which could cause this kind of knowledge to die out altogether over time. With this knowledge, basketry and house construction—forms of cultural production that require regular practice in order to accumulate more knowledge and improve one’s skills—could be sustained. Each foraging trip has the potential for danger and uncertainty, so the capacity to improvise based on prior experience is necessary. All of these aspects require substantial knowledge, time, labour, and resources.



Figure 7. Community youths cleaning and sorting building materials, Madawdaw, Taitung county, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Xie Song Zhi

Mindful of the above, I sought to recruit youths from the tribe who were enthusiastic about going to the forested mountains to gather natural resources. This is our cultural value called *malacecay kita* (hand in hand). As more people began to join me, my lonely journey became a group effort in which everyone worked together to carry materials down the mountains. Treating and processing these materials for crafts and construction allowed us to practice our culture and to pass down related wisdom; we spent time every night splitting and cleaning different building materials (Fig. 7). The collection and preparation of materials for building the house took more than two years. In the end, we processed several

kilometers of rattan and an immeasurable amount of bamboo, silver grass, cogon grass, and timber by hand, and formed them into usable building materials.



Figure 8. Volunteers working together in the construction of an Amis traditional house, Madawdaw, Taitung county, Taiwan, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Xie Song Zhi

In terms of building the house, the biggest challenge was not managing the materials but leading the group and overseeing the construction. In the past, people held to a system of *mipaliw*, an act of mutual aid. There was no money involved in this mode of collective work. A family in need would call on relatives and neighbours, who, in turn, would gather their relatives and everyone would come to work together. When the neighbours and relatives who had volunteered needed help in the future, their generosity would be reciprocated. This social custom is uncommon nowadays, and is typically only seen during preparations for weddings and funerals. In order to revive this work spirit, we decided to recruit volunteers online. In return for their participation, we provided volunteers with accommodations, meals, and an opportunity to learn (Fig. 8). Following tradition, we hosted a *pakelang* after the completion of the house to thank everyone for their hard work.⁶

Legal Hurdles to Building a Traditional House

Outside of cities, land in Taiwan that is suitable for land development is limited and those that are deemed unsuitable for development have largely been designated as “conservation zones.” The Spatial Planning Act of 2016 replaced the Regional Plan Act of 1974, turning land-use zoning into land *functional zones* which include conservation, marine resource development, agricultural development, and urban–rural development. From the perspective of Taiwanese Indigenous people, the terms used for functional zones are incomprehensible. Most of them only recognise building land, agriculture land, and land reserved for Taiwanese Indigenous people. Their knowledge of land functions are limited to what they face when they attempt to develop their land.

The status of housing for Taiwanese Indigenous people before the Building Act went into effect is worth considering.⁷ For example, in my village of Madawdaw, the Amis are the descendants of a mix of migrant groups—ones coming from north of the East Rift Valley in Hualien and the Xiuguluan River area, and from south of Chenggong—who arrived about 150 years ago. These people built a men’s assembly house and formed the *kapot*. The land in *Madawdaw* is owned by different people and under different titles, and these regions/territories—even areas by the reef and the coast—have their own names, such as Sanosingalan and Cifuisay. The land of each clan or group was delineated by immovable markers, usually large rocks or trees. Though most of them lived in a centralised area (just as people live in residential areas today), some people lived in the forest or on mountainsides

In the past, Taiwanese Indigenous people built with gathered materials, but as Taiwan’s economy developed, their desire for consumer goods demanded greater income, so they left their villages to work for money to meet these new needs. Building in this context meant replacing traditional, gathered building materials with more modern ones, such as bricks, cement, and corrugated metal sheets (Fig. 9).



Figure 9. Modern cement house in Chenggong Town, Taitung County, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Akac Orat

Over the last century, Taiwanese Indigenous people have experienced periods of drastic political change—going from self-governing communities to living under Japanese rule to a nationalist government. As a result, our living conditions have been completely altered. When it comes to land use and building regulations, Taiwanese Indigenous and non-Taiwanese Indigenous people need to follow the same procedures and standards in order to prevent any code violations or safety negligence. This is a result of the larger issue of how the economy has developed and the current norms of land use.

One necessary consideration when planning to build a home in Taiwan is whether the land it is to be built on is designated as agricultural land or building land. Currently, Taiwanese law divides the latter type into three categories— industrial, residential, and commercial land—and building on any of them requires a building permit that is only given once the safety and coverage-ratio standards in the building plan have been approved. It is basically impossible for a permit to be obtained for a traditional house because Taiwan does not have legal standards for non-mainstream building materials. More specifically, it is extremely difficult to obtain proof of safety and structural integrity for natural materials such as rattan, bamboo, wood, and slate unless an architect gives approval. It is difficult for Indigenous people to build their traditional homes on building land, as the variety of Indigenous architectural style, construction materials, and building methods will not be accepted by today’s safety standards.

The situation isn’t any better on agricultural land. Beginning in the 1950s, many people erected concrete buildings on agricultural land. This phenomenon of “growing houses on farms” prompted a tightening of regulations over the past two decades. Today, for those who want to build a traditional Amis structure on agricultural land can build a “storage shed,” which does not require a building permit. However, storage sheds, which are supposed to be used only to store farming tools, may not be used as residences. Regulations intentionally make them very difficult to live in—specifically, the area of a shed may only be a single structure that does not exceed forty-five square meters and it may not have a toilet—but people live in them anyway.

Traditionally, people of the Amis community would build a complex of structures each with their own function, rather than only one building. The living quarters are the core of the community. Other peripheral structures include the granary, kitchen, pigpen, rest hut, and vegetable garden, which is usually located behind the house. The flatlands and mountain slopes alike are used to grow rice, fruit trees, and other crops. Rest huts for farmers are built on farmland away from the house; some family members may even live in these huts if they have decided to live apart from the rest of the family. The kitchen would be adjacent to the house, not inside it; thus, if we follow the legal stipulations of a storage shed, we are not permitted to sleep in the house we have built and our kitchen has to be demolished as it will be deemed an illegal additional structure.

Furthermore, we must produce crops on our land that meet designated annual output and value standards of the defined agricultural land. The trees and reintroduced plants we are cultivating are marketable but not considered cash crops, which means our application for the shed will be viewed with suspicion and

possibly rejected. The government clerks will ask, “Who is going to buy silver grass and plants used as fermentation starters? And is there that much demand for plants used in traditional basketry and fibre crafts?” But my response is, should we really have to grow cash crops in order for our land to be considered agricultural?



Figure 10. *Loma* (interior of the completed traditional Amis house), Madawdaw, Taitung county, Taiwan, 2021. Photograph courtesy of Hau En Tsai

Historically, we Taiwanese Indigenous people were the owners of the land we lived on and farmed, and so were not limited by modern designations of “building land” and “agricultural land.” Our building methods evolved over the centuries to the point that our structures were stable; we didn’t need to rely on architects and civil or structural engineers to affirm their safety. Our culture, which revolves around the home, is inseparable from the land. Currently, there is no legal provision to protect architecture that is built or restored using traditional Amis methods unless it is at least 100 years old, in which case the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of 1982 might allow for its preservation.

There is no legal protection for those who wish to build or restore a traditional house using traditional methods with natural materials. Furthermore, there have been cases in which experts have questioned the authenticity of the traditional houses we have built. For instance, even though slate has been identified by anthropologists and other scholars as the traditional house-building material of the Paiwan, the Paiwan community in eastern Taiwan generally have never built homes with slate; they used bamboo, silver grass, and cogon grass.⁸ Should the Paiwan have to build homes made of slate just to comply with the definition of a “traditional Paiwan house” given by experts?

All we want is to build our own homes on our own land. Changing current laws so that we may achieve this goal will require the combined efforts of politicians, academics, and lay people. We are not the only Taiwanese Indigenous people in this position. Our example has initiated a dialogue on the survival in contemporary society of the traditional structures of the Bunun, Atayal, and Puyuma, who all face the same problems. Indeed, there is still a long way to go before Taiwanese law will support Taiwanese Indigenous people’s right to be themselves, from building traditional structures to foraging and hunting.

The author and guest editors would like to acknowledge Tsai Hauen who has assisted Akac Orat with translation in the symposium and for the revision of this paper.

Akac Orat currently lives on Taiwan’s east coast and is engaged in curatorial, craft, and art education. His work focuses on the overlapping aspects of art and real life, and he creates events, activities, and exhibitions that perform and expose them. In recent years, he has transformed his curation process into an educational vocation. He has built a traditional Amis house, produced woven baskets from different Indigenous groups, and cultivated a piece of land in the forest. Since then, he has

been seeking different perspectives of the world while dedicating his educational efforts locally.

Notes

¹ Madawdaw is a village located in the town of Chenggong, Taitung County. The village has a population of 3,046, 59% of whom are Taiwanese Indigenous. 國家文化記憶庫 (Taiwan Cultural Memory Bank) https://memory.culture.tw/Home/Detail?Id=272484&IndexCode=Culture_Object (accessed September 12, 2022). The village has a view of both the mountains and the sea, and a diverse ecology. “Dawdaw” means “light” in the Nansi Amis dialect. The Taiwanese Indigenous community in the village consists of different groups of Amis whose ancestors migrated from different communities, so they speak a variety of Amis dialects. In 1911, it was the site of a massive revolt against the Japanese known as the “Madawdaw Incident.”

² The Forestry Bureau manages the state-owned forest areas to control illegal logging. In the past, these areas often overlapped with the traditional territories. An invitation for an auction is announced by the Forestry Bureau, so that the forest’s main products, such as logged trees, can be purchased.

³ In 2016, the government introduced its plan for implementing transitional justice and approved the establishment of the Indigenous Justice Committee and Transitional Justice Committee. Transitional justice is a set of judicial and non-judicial measures implemented in order to redress violations of human rights. In the context of Indigenous ethnic groups, this includes but is not limited to the recognition and proper naming of different ethnic groups, language rights, and the return of traditional territories (e.g., sacred sites, hunting grounds, ceremonial sites, and so on). 總統府原住民族歷史正義與轉型正義委員會 (Presidential Office Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee), <https://indigenous-justice.president.gov.tw/EN> (accessed September 24, 2022).

⁴ There is no English translation of the statement. The Chinese name for the statement is 原住民族依生活慣習採取森林產物規則 <https://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=M0040049> (accessed September 24, 2022).

⁵ The *kapot* was a system in Amis society by which men would be grouped by age. They would enter this system at a certain age and progress into older grades together instead of as individuals. Through this system, they would carry out different tasks and be assigned different responsibilities. Younger groups would have to obey orders and carry out tasks assigned by the older groups; their responsibilities changed as they advanced into older grades. Each grade had its own title; for example, Pakalongay, the first grade, was composed of youths who

had just entered the system. Members of this grade had to do basic training and errands as ordered by the older grades.

⁶ A *pakelang* was held after a laborious endeavor, so food and drink were a way to compensate people for their hard work. People would also go to the rivers and ocean to catch shrimp and fish at this time because water was viewed as a way to wash away filth and exhaustion and to purify one's body and mind. Rain on the day of a *pakelang* is considered auspicious.

⁷ The Building Act was enacted and promulgated by the Taiwanese Government in 1938 to implement building management to maintain public security, traffic, and health, and to improve the appearance of cities. 建築法 (The Building Act), <https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=D0070109> (accessed September 24, 2022).

⁸ See Chih-hong Huang and Si-hong Yang, eds., 千千岩助太郎台灣高砂族測繪手稿全集（下） (*Chijiwa Suketarou's Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's Houses II*) (Taipei: Hua-syun, 2012), 5–248.

Areta Wilkinson

Preparations for Landing—*Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*

Abstract

Since 2018, a kin group of Kāi Tahu contemporary artists called *Paemanu* has worked collaboratively with the Dunedin Public Art Gallery (DPAG)—established in 1884 and home of the oldest art collection in Aotearoa New Zealand—to see Māori values and concepts introduced into and intersect at the art institution. The group’s goals have been realised through the collaborative permanent collection exhibition *Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars at DPAG* (June 2021–April 2023); the enhanced role of the DPAG curatorial intern; the exhibition *He reka te Kūmara* (November 2021–March 2022) by emerging Māori curators; the establishment of the *Paemanu Art Collection*; and *Paemanu’s* self-determined exhibition at DPAG, *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi—A Landing Place* (December 2021–April 2022). This article discusses and celebrates the ways Kāi Tahu Māori contemporary visual culture has been elevated throughout DPAG for the first time in the institution’s history. It describes the *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) by Kāi Tahu Māori artists to change up the gallery experience at DPAG so that *Mana Whenua* (the people of the land) are finally visible and are sensed throughout.

Keywords: Māori art, *tino rangatiratanga*, self-determination, cultural identity, contemporary art, Māori and Indigenous methodologies, *Kaupapa Māori Theory*, *Paemanu: Ngāi Tahu Contemporary Visual Arts*, museums, Indigenous curation, settler colonialism, Aotearoa New Zealand, art exhibitions, biculturalism, First Nations

Paemanu, a kin group of Māori contemporary artists with Kāi Tahu ancestry (Fig. 1), has worked collaboratively with the Dunedin Public Art Gallery (DPAG), Aotearoa New Zealand, since 2018, motivated by a mutual desire to see Māori values and concepts intersecting at the art institution.¹ This desire has been realised in multiple ways, namely through the collaborative exhibition *Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars* at DPAG (June 2021–April 2023); the newly enhanced role of the DPAG curatorial intern; the exhibition *He reka te Kūmara* (November 2021–March 2022) by emerging Māori curators; the *Paemanu Art Collection*, a

new collection of Kāi Tahu contemporary artworks created and owned by Paemanu artists; and Paemanu's self-determined exhibition at DPAG, *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi—A Landing Place* (December 2021–April 2022). This article discusses and celebrates the ways Kāi Tahu Māori contemporary visual culture has been elevated throughout DPAG for the first time in the institution's history.



Figure 1. The Paemanu team and Dunedin Public Art Gallery staff at the opening of *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, December 11, 2021, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand. Courtesy of Paemanu Charitable Trust

Hoea rā te waka nei (paddle this canoe)

Between 2018 and 2022 a relationship was formed between DPAG, established in 1884 and home to the oldest art collection in Aotearoa; the Paemanu Charitable Trust; and twelve Paemanu curatorial artists.² In 2018, Paemanu was invited to create an exhibition at DPAG. The title of the exhibition, *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, describes a landing place for Māori art, with *tauraka* meaning the anchorage of

waka (watercraft). The name references the project's significant role as the inaugural landfall of our own Paemanu Art Collection of Kāi Tahu contemporary art at DPAG.

As with any new encounter, before embarking on a journey with DPAG, Paemanu had to understand where we were going. Following *tikanga*, our Māori customary protocols, we asked ourselves: *Who is here? Who holds the mana, the cultural authority, over this area of land?* In Aotearoa, *Mana Whenua* (the Indigenous people) have historic and territorial rights over land recognised by the country's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) of 1840. Kāi Tahu *rūnaka* (tribal councils) have recognised cultural authority over regions.



Figure 2a. Left to right: Cam McCracken, director of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery and Ross Hemera (Kāi Tahu) of Paemanu at the ceremonial blessing and formal placement of three *kōhatu mauri* stones at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, 9 December 2019. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

In the summer of 2019, members of Paemanu travelled to the Otago region and met with three *rūnaka* to let them know about our intention to exhibit in Dunedin and to ask for their support. From the *rūnaka* of Puketeraki, Moeraki, and Ōtākou, we were given three *kōhatu mauri*, named sacred stones with associated stories, for us to place at DPAG as cultural markers.³ These *kōhatu mauri* are the first physical and spiritual presence of *Mana Whenua* that visitors encounter upon entering DPAG (Fig. 2a–b). Their purpose is to imbue the gallery with their life force; visitors are invited to pause and touch them. DPAG staff value and care for the stones but they are inextricably linked with *Mana Whenua*. Paemanu

can move the stones; we can take them away temporarily on a trip, and we can even remove them permanently if we become unhappy with their situation.



Figure 2b. Object label for the *kōhatu mauri* stones, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Aotearoa New Zealand. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Encountering the Ancestors of DPAG's Collecting History

Paemanu next sought to understand: *Who is here at DPAG? Who are the ancestors of this art gallery? A waka (watercraft) becomes a whare (house) when overturned on dry land and placed on four pou (posts).* To understand the genealogy of DPAG, we asked staff to tell us about their *pou*, the founders of the institution holding up the house of art we would enter. In response to our inquiry, DPAG presented us with a list of fifteen artworks representing the establishment of the institution's collection and its journey up until the present. It was a truth-telling moment, as not one of the listed artworks, makers or donors represented our Kāi Tahu communities; our Kāi Tahu ancestors and *Tangata Whenua* (Indigenous people of Aotearoa) were not part of this founding system.

In response to this, Paemanu undertook a process of inquiry about DPAG’s collection, asking whether *any* artworks by Kāi Tahu artists, by Māori or of Māori, or representing other related cultural communities were in the collection. Curatorial staff would diligently do research and come back to us. In addition, we slept in the gallery to get a feel for the place, we visited DPAG’s earth-floor basement and art storerooms, and shared food with gallery staff. Out at the Otākou *kaik* (seaside village) Paemanu collected seafood and hosted both kin and DPAG staff as part of a slow, relational process. Through this *whānaungataka* (being together), we all got to know each other more.

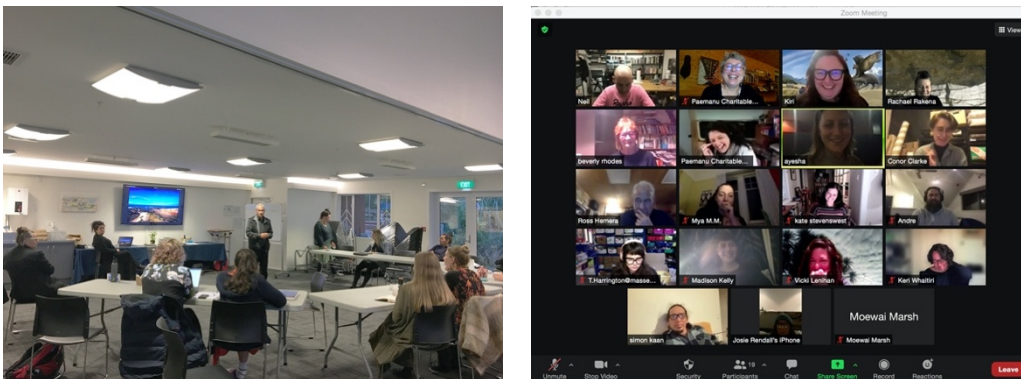


Figure 3. *Wānanga* (workshopping) at Ōtakou Marae, April 9–11, 2021 and over Zoom, September 3, 2021. Courtesy of Paemanu Charitable Trust

Ako Māori, the appropriate transmission of Māori knowledge, is a highly valued principle of *kaupapa* Māori, literally meaning “a Māori way.”⁴ *Kaupapa* Māori incorporates critical Indigenous philosophy and practice that reflect Māori cultural values. As Kāi Tahu artists, our preferred cultural method of sharing knowledge is to *wānanga* (meet and discuss) face to face and learn collectively (Figs. 3–4). Our preference is always to stay over on *marae* (meeting houses) (Fig. 4) or in *whānau* (family) homes so we can gather, cook, and share food in addition to working together in online meet-ups. We all have individual art practices but the collaborative practice of Paemanu is figuring out the *tīkanga* for our contemporary art contexts—that is, the right cultural way to do things that is collectively responsible and elevates Kāi Tahu knowledge systems and values. Tribal relationships are complex even for Māori. Paemanu members are often learning from our mistakes and, thankfully, our kin are very forgiving.



Figure 4. *Wānanga* (workshopping) at Ōtakou Marae, April 9–11, 2021. Courtesy of Paemanu Charitable Trust

The process of *wānanga* (meet and discuss) led to Paemanu identifying DPAG’s holdings—Dunedin’s beloved art collection, built on substantial philanthropy since the nineteenth century—as a colonial system of wealthy gift-giving and status. In those establishment years, DPAG’s high investment in cultural values as represented by European art and culture was made with the intention of educating the general public through access. However, because the founding ancestors of DPAG did not value and collect Indigenous artforms, none entered the collection. In more recent times, Kāi Tahu and Māori art has been exhibited but has remained underrepresented in the collection over its 137-year history.

DPAG staff recognised inquiry into the institution’s founding and collection history as a potential curatorial premise for the new installation of their permanent collection, which was due to open in June 2021, six months prior to *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*. It was clear to both parties that a collaboration with Paemanu was essential to expand their concept further to include non-founder narratives. Here was an opportunity to counterbalance the colonial narrative and include our Kāi Tahu Māori community and perspectives. Through *kōrero* (many conversations) with DPAG, we shifted staff attention to the absence of Kāi Tahu in their story, colonial trauma, broader community representation, alternative worldview interpretations, and relationships with Mana Whenua.



Figure 4a. Foreground: Shona Rapira Davies (Ngātiwai), *Prototype for the Poles that Hold up the Sky*, 1991. Terracotta, timber, 1600 x 820 x 800 mm. On walls, left to right: Sydney Lough Thompson, *Lady McLean*, 1907. Oil on canvas, 1005 x 750 mm; and James Crowe Richmond, *Mount Excelsior Takitimo (sic) Range. Southland NZ*, 1887. Watercolour on paper, 516 x 751 mm. On view in *Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, June 12–April 30, 2023. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

If Paemanu and DPAG were to curate as genuine collaborators, our co-created exhibition needed to include representation of all our art ancestors, from European art history and Kāi Tahu Māori art history, not only those represented in the institution's founding story. Paemanu required our art ancestors to be visible to us, so when we landed our exhibition, *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, our contemporary artworks could greet the historic artworks, according to Māori rituals of encounter. Therefore, a visitor's first encounter in our collaborative exhibition is with the First Peoples, first determined through the *kōhatu mauri* stones (Fig. 2a).

Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars

The permanent collection exhibition that resulted from the collaboration of Paemanu and DPAG is aptly called *Hurahia ana kā Whetū* (unveiling the stars). The title conceptually reflects how the art ancestors of the DPAG collection, including Māori artists, are the stars that illuminate a path for those of us who come after. The artworks that visitors first encounter upon entering the show are by Kāi Tahu artists—Cath Brown, a champion for contemporary Kāi Tahu arts who has now passed on, and Ross Hemera, an esteemed elder of Paemanu (Fig. 6a). The *kāranga* is a welcoming call in Māori ritual only to be performed by Māori women, so it is Cath Brown's artwork *Kāranga* (2002) that directly acknowledges visitors and draws them into *Hurahia ana kā Whetū* to view our exhibition. Māori and other related cultural communities, such as Pasifika and Chinese kin, represented in the Paemanu *whanau* (kin), are now also celebrated in the DPAG permanent collection exhibition.

At first, the DPAG public art collection overwhelmed us with its surplus of sublime depictions of scenic Aotearoa landscapes painted by European artists most often not depicting New Zealand light. We felt the heavy absence of representation of how we, as Māori, understand land and place—our worldview expressed through art. Our relationships to *whenua* (land) include an umbilical, bodily link to the primordial earth mother. One way we addressed this imbalance was by installing, amongst many selected artworks exploring the Aotearoa landscape, a 1991 artwork by Ngātiwai artist Shona Rapira Davies, *Prototype for the Poles That Hold up the Sky* (Fig. 4a). This clay sculpture conveys a Māori creation story about how the world of light came to be. In the same room are historic oil paintings such as *A Waterfall in the Otira Gorge* (1891) by Petrus van der Velden, made exactly one hundred years earlier (Fig. 4b) that well illustrates New Zealand light.



Figure 4b. Petrus van der Velden (Dutch/New Zealand 1837-1913), *A Waterfall in the Otira Gorge*, 1891. Oil on canvas, 1130 x 1935 mm, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 5. Left to right: Peter Robinson (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Kuri), *Untitled*, 1994. Wood, acrylic, oil stick, light bulb, tin, wool, 210 x 1630 x 1700 mm; and Thomas Gainsborough and John Hoppner, *Charlotte, Countess Talbot*, c. 1784. Oil on canvas, 2720 x 1810 mm. Michael Parekōwhai (Ngā Ariki, Ngā Tai Whakaronga), *Constitution Hill*, 2011. Bronze 1010 x 250 x 250 mm. On view in *Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, June 12–April 30, 2023. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

In another section of the exhibition, internationally recognised Māori artists such as Peter Robinson (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Kuri) and Michael Parekōwhai (Ngā Ariki, Ngā Tai Whakaronga) are celebrated alongside Thomas Gainsborough and John Hoppner for their international art history contributions (Fig. 5).



Figure 6a. Installation view of *Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, June 12–April 30, 2023. Left to right: Ross Hemera (Kāi Tahu) *Kua hoki mai ngā Karae*, 2021. Pencil, *paua* (Haliotis iris, a mollusc), *maukoroa* (ochre), *ngārehu* (charcoal), dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist and Dunedin Public Art Gallery; Cath Brown (Kāi Tahu), *Karanga Ngāi Tahu II*, 2002. Clay, *harakeke* (New Zealand flax, Phormium tenax), *paua* (Haliotis iris, a mollusc), feathers, 550 x 250 x 250 mm. Courtesy of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the artist's family

DPAG, like any public art gallery, occupies a position of authority; it has the power to construct cultural narratives and preserve civic memory by privileging certain ways of collecting, preserving, documenting, and interpreting material culture. A public art collection should reflect the multiple heritage stories of its place and community. The telling of national art and cultural histories in Aotearoa has often edited out or misrepresented Māori and minority cultural histories. The premise of *Hurahia ana kā Whetū* moved DPAG curatorial focus away from the ancestral founders of DPAG, their colonial perspectives and elevation of European art, toward broader key values and fairer representation of Dunedin community.

“People,” “Place & Identity,” “Global Networks,” and “The Power of Art” became the four *pou* of a curatorial framework used to acknowledge, understand, and install new connections across the collection.

KĀ HONOKA ME KĀ TUKUKA IHOTAKA

He whakatereka hou e tere ana Te Whare Toi Tūmatawhānui o Ōtepoti. I tā rātou huaki i te whare toi katoa ki te Paemanu, ko whakawātea te wāhi mō mātou. Ko ā mātou whāika tahi, ko te raraka i te taukaea takata e whai mana ai tētahi ki tētahi, kia whakatau ai he ura e mau whānui ana e haere ake nei. Ki te renarena taua taukaea rā, me tōkeke te mana a tēnei whenu, a tēnā whenu.

He mana nui tō te whakanōhaka o kā whare toi tūmatawhānui e waihaka ana i te kōrero ā-iwi, ā, e tārokitia ana te māharataka rarauori i tana kōhi, i tana whakamāori hoki i kā rawa toi o te ahurea. E whakaata ana te kohikohika toi i kā tāhūhū kōrero mātinitini o te wāhi, o te hapori, ā, o te iwi nāna anō i whakatū. I tere tūtuhutia e te Paemanu tētahi kohikohika tokarerewa i tōna wā, ko hakaia ki kā wawata o taipūwhenua me te aroha, ekari, ko mū kē, ko whakatokā kē te tirohaka ā-ao o te iwi taketake. I te haereka o te wā, kihai kā rika toi mana whenua, ko ā rātou kōrero rānei, i tino whai wāhi ki tēnei kohikohika. I karakahia e te Paemanu kā mahi toi nā te rika toi Māori me te rika toi Pasifika kia noho ai rātou ki te kohikohika pūmau o tēnei whakaaturaka, kia mihian ai ō mātou whānau, kia whakatinanahia hoki kā mahi me mahi kia tutuki ai i kā wawata o te Tiriti. He mana nui nō Kāi Tahu, nō te takata whenua hoki, nā reira me whao ā rātou kōrero ki kā pātū o te Te Whare Toi Tūmatawhānui o Ōtepoti.

Ki tēnei whakaaturaka, ka kana ki te whakahou i te tāhūhū kōrero ki te kōrero hoki ki te whānui tou o kā wawata o tuauki, tae noa atu ki te ariā, ki te pūrakahotaka, ā, ki te oraka hoki. Ko te mahi kātahitaka, ko te akoakotaka, ko te whakahokika hoki he āhuataka mātuatua o te wetetāmi i kā kohikohika. Mā ēnei tukaka tētahi kohikohika o-nehe, e honoa ana kā hono, e whakawātea ana kā wāhi, e whakaputaina atu ana kā kōrero ātete.

E tāraia toutia ana tēnei tāhūhū kōrero.

CONNECTIONS AND LEGACIES

A new navigational journey is being taken by the Dunedin Public Art Gallery. Opening the whole gallery to Paemanu kaupapa, they have committed to create space for us. Our shared objectives are to establish a relationship that acknowledges each other’s mana, and to find common values that will prevail into the future. To form a beneficial relationship mana must meet mana - equally.

A public gallery is a powerful authority, constructing cultural narratives and preserving civic memory by collecting, and interpreting material culture. An art collection reflects multiple stories of place, community and the people who have founded it. Paemanu quickly identified a beloved permanent collection of its time, built on colonial aspirations and philanthropy, but established without value for indigenous perspectives. Over time, mana whenua artists and stories have not been well represented in the collection. Paemanu called on works by all Māori and Pasifika artists in the permanent collection for this exhibition to mihi to our whānau, and to show the work that needs to be done to meet shared Tiriti aspirations. Kāi Tahu and takata whenua are part of this community and need to be in the Dunedin Public Art Gallery story.

We aim to refresh historical narratives and speak to legacy aspirations including visibility, understanding and healing. Collaboration, consultation, and repatriation are key components of decolonising gallery collections. Through these processes, an historical collection can be used to make connections, open space and reveal a counter narrative.

This is legacy work happening now.

Figure 6b. Introductory panels in *Hurahia ana kā Whetū: Unveiling the Stars*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, June 12–April 30, 2023. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 7a. Rachael Rakena (Ngāpuhi, Kāi Tahu), *Iwidotnz 008*, 2002. Digital photograph on aluminium, 1250 x 1000 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021, to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery

RACHAEL RAKENA

[b.1969 New Zealand Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tahu]

Iwidotnz 008 2003

Digital photograph on aluminium

Collection of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Given 2010 anonymously

**WAI?
WAI
WAIA
WAIATA
WAIORA
WAI POUNAMU, TE
WAIPUNA
WAIRUA
WAITOHU**

**WHO? WHOM?
WATER, STREAM, TEARS
TO BE ACCUSTOMED TO, FAMILIAR WITH,
USED TO, PRACTISED
SONG, CHANT, PSALM
HEALTH, SOUNDNESS
SOUTH ISLAND, GREENSTONE VALLEY
SPRING OF WATER
SPIRIT,
SOUL - SPIRIT OF A PERSON WHICH EXISTS
BEYOND DEATH
TO MARK, SIGNIFY, INDICATE**

AN 2021

Figure 7b. Wall label for Rachael Rakena (Ngāpuhi, Kāi Tahu), *Iwidotnz 008*, 2002. Digital photograph on aluminium, 1250 x 1000 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021, to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 7c. Kura Te Waru Te Rewiri (Ngāti Kahu, Ngāpuhi, Ngāto Kauwhata, Ngāti Rangi), *Untitled*, 1991. Acrylic on plywood, 1295 x 799 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021, to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

KURA TE WARU REWIRI

[b.1950 New Zealand Ngāti Kahu, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Rangī]

Untitled 1991

Acrylic on plywood

Collection of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Purchased 1991 with funds from the Dunedin Public Art Gallery Society

In the work of Kura Te Waru Rewiri (Ngāti Kahu, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Rangī), Māori knowledge systems inform the shape and meaning of her visual explorations where 'Objects, colour and form become imbued with Māori spiritual and cultural encoding that requires the viewer to decipher elements of a visual language that is specifically centred in an appreciation of Māori knowledge systems.'¹ In this way, Te Waru Rewiri's paintings, like this one, navigate sacred spaces (tapu), and whenua is central: 'whenua is the fundamental basis for her journey as a painter...² [and] in all her work she represents the land below the surface where the memory is stored and the placenta is buried.'³

1. N. Borell and Mangere Arts Centre (eds) *Kura: Story of a Maori Woman Artist* (Auckland: Mangere Arts Centre, 2011), 20 in Belinda Borell et al., 'Beyond the veil: Kaupapa Māori gaze on the non-Māori subject', *Journal of Sociology, Special Issue - Indigenous Sociology: Contemporary Theoretical Perspectives*, Volume: 56 issue: 2 (197-212) <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783319893503>

2. Camilla Highfield, *Kura Te Waru Rewiri: A Maori Woman Artist* (Wellington: Gilt Edge Publishing, 1999), 15.

3. Camilla Highfield, *Kura Te Waru Rewiri: A Maori Woman Artist* (Wellington: Gilt Edge Publishing, 1999). [Whenua, the word for land, is the same word for placenta. Meaning derives from Papatūānuku (mother earth) who gave birth to all life.]

Figure 7d. Wall label for Kura Te Waru Te Rewiri (Ngāti Kahu, Ngāpuhi, Ngāto Kauwhata, Ngāti Rangī), *Untitled*, 1991. Acrylic on plywood, 1295 x 799 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021, to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 8. Educational activity sheets created for *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

He reka te Kūmara: knowledge passed on

To further encourage *ako* (the appropriate transmission of knowledge), Paemanu prioritised the support of emerging practitioners as central to our future-focused mission statement. We saw the annual DPAG curatorial internship as another opportunity to collaborate, and one that would implement *ako*. In partnership, DPAG and Paemanu enhanced the curatorial intern job description to privilege expertise in *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge of language and customs) and added curatorial qualifications to attract an experienced bi-cultural curator who could support our project. The successful intern candidate, Piupiu Maya Turei (Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne, Te Ātihaunui-a-Pāpārangi), made a unique cultural contribution to the DPAG gallery team and Paemanu show, including creating activities through which young visitors can access Māori knowledge. A children’s activity sheet includes cultural insight into *kōwhaiwhai* the painted panels of the meeting house, painted portraits of ancestors, and Araiteuru, the principal seafaring vessel of *mana whenua* (Fig. 8). This waka capsized and all that remains now are con-creted cargo (Moerāki Boulders) on the beach revered by Kāi Tahu.

The DPAG curatorial intern, Turei, sought to expand the job’s role by collaborating with three other emerging Māori curators: Madison Kelly (Kāi Tahu), Mya Morrison-Middleton (Kāi Tahu), and Aroha Novak (Ngāi te Rangi, Tūhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu). Their resulting exhibition, *He reka te Kūmara*, references the *kūmara*, a sweet root vegetable that is a cultural symbol for knowledge passed on through many connected vines (Fig. 9). In the exhibition, the curators explore *pūrakau* (oral traditions), *waiata* (song), and *toi* (art) as multimedia Indigenous knowledge systems that convey information, wisdom, and spirituality.



Figure 9. Entry into *He reka te Kūmara*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, November 13, 2021–March 21, 2022. Left to right: Marilynn Webb (Ngāti Kahu, Te Roroa), *Baby 3*, 1990, monotype, plate size 855 x 615 mm; and *Baby and Fire*, 1990, monotype, plate size 855 x 615 mm. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Paemanu: Tauraka Toi—A Landing Place

In the next phase of our collaboration with DPAG, Paemanu produced a self-determined exhibition, *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, which included our own artwork. The creative concept of *waka* encompassed creation stories, ancestral tribal narratives, Pacific migration, Kāi Tahu history, coastal and inland travel, environment and resource gathering practices, and identity markers. The exhibition *āhua* (form) developed through *wānanga* led by the twelve Kāi Tahu curatorial artists involved: Ayesha Green, Ross Hemera, Lonnie Hutchinson, Kiri Jarden, Simon Kaan, Martin Langdon, Vicki Lenihan, Nathan Pohio, Rachael Rakena, Peter Robinson, Rongomaiaia Te Whaiti, and Areta Wilkinson. These lead artists steered our *waka* of art by sharing curatorial responsibilities including supporting other artists in the show, assisted by our Paemanu project manager, Natalie Jones. DPAG staff enabled and assisted our process as it developed. As we held legacy aspirations of a vibrant Kāi Tahu visual culture for future generations, we knew the project had to make a positive impact beyond the exhibition. Paemanu was quick to recognise

both the influence of benefaction and the power of public collections in what cultural stories they do or do not reflect. We appropriated the patronage model to advance our vision. We secured national arts grants and tribal funding to support the creation of artworks for our exhibition and to form our own Indigenous art collection, jointly owned by the artists in Paemanu and our legal entity, Paemanu Charitable Trust. The Paemanu Art Collection—made up of new Kāi Tahu contemporary artworks created and owned by Paemanu artists and on loan to the DPAG—is the first of its kind in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the future, its artworks will be available for loan to any public institution or tribal organisation (including *Mana Whenua*) with cultural conditions and protocols.

In *wānanga*, Paemanu asked, *Who will we take with us into the gallery and into our art collection?* The answer was “All of us, or as many as possible!” We sent invitations to as many practicing contemporary Kāi Tahu artists as we could identify, asking them to join us on our *waka* journey into DPAG through *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*. As a result, fifty Kāi Tahu artists—from emerging to established—and six Kāi Tahu writers participated.



Figure 10. Beverly Rhodes (Kāi Tahu, Ngāi Tūāhuriri), *The land of the red earth: Ōtākou*, 2021. Oil, canvas, 1200 x 1200 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021, to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Paemanu: Tauraka Toi was a mixture of solo works, artist collaborations, and community projects exploring the theme of *waka*. Five Kāi Tahu themes provided a structure for the exhibition layout and wayfinding movement. *Waka Tūpuna* (Figs. 10–12) included themes of ancestry, remembering, and visioning; in *Whakahekeka o kā Roimata* (Figs. 13–14) artworks explored trailing, migration, and identity markers; *Whakawhitika* (Figs. 15–16) related to flora, fauna, conveyance, and waterways; *Ko te wai, he wai ora* (Fig. 17) dealt with environmental brutality and sustainability; and *Tohorā* (Figs. 18–19) explored navigation, guidance, and sustenance. *Tauhokohoko* was a trading post that provided Kāi Tahu goods for purchase. We hoped indigenising the curatorial approach which made sense to us, would attract Māori communities who largely do not feel at home in public galleries.

Public programs oriented toward *whānau* (family)—through *wānanga* (workshops) at the gallery or *marae* (meeting houses)—were specifically developed to include our extended kin of *Mana Whenua* as contributors to the exhibition. One program, led by painter Ayesha Green, focused on *tūpuna* (ancestor) portraits (Figs. 20–21). Painted or photographic portraits of ancestors are a common sight in many *marae*, where they honour those who have passed and acknowledge the *whakapapa* (genealogical connections) that exist between people and place. Following Green’s method, family members painted their loved ones and these tributes were installed in the exhibition alongside her own *tūpuna* paintings. Another program, led by Kaihaukai Collective (Simon Kaan and Ron Bull), was a workshop on customary foods such as *tuaki* (clams), *tītī* (sooty shearwater, a seabird), and *pātiki* (flounder), with local chefs producing unique food experiences for the opening event (Fig. 22).

Other public programs included live performances of contemporary Māori music with traditional instruments, a mural project created in *wānanga* (workshopping) with *rangatahi* (youth) artists, discussions about professional practice for writers and artists, and drop-in *rāranga* (weaving) sessions (Fig. 23). These activities served not only as public events but also as authentic opportunities for Kāi Tahu people to practice, grow, and share Kāi Tahu Māori knowledge. As Kāi Tahu artists, we are exploring our identity through artmaking, but we cannot do this without our Kāi Tahu kin—other Kāi Tahu artists and their cultural expression, and *whānui* (our extended family across subtribes). At the conclusion of *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, DPAG accepted the position of *taongatiaki* (guardian) for both the Paemanu Art Collection and the *kōhatu mauri* remaining in its care. The commissioned mural *Bloodline* by Zoe Hall will continue to illuminate the DPAG rear foyer

and is already providing the Gallery with a visual educational resource about the Kāi Tahu creation narrative it represents (Fig. 24).



Figure 11. Areta Wilkinson (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa), *Star Whata. Space Odyssey 2021*, 2021. Mixed media, 2600 x 1900 x 790 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Whakamānu / whakamanu: The art waka floats and the birds fly

Māori worldview is now elevated across DPAG, framed by Paemanu's desire to see Kāi Tahu values, concepts, and ideas intersecting on the site of a colonial art gallery and by DPAG's commitment to partnership. The values of *Mana Whenua*

and Paemanu now permeate the entire DPAG building, starting with the *kōhatu mauri* at the entrance (Fig. 2a). Kāi Tahu and Māori perspectives are seen, heard, and felt throughout and across all exhibitions and public programming. Landing our art at DPAG is a claiming of space for our Kāi Tahu artforms, for our *whānau* and *iwi* (our families and tribe), and for communities of Dunedin. The *kōhatu mauri* have been working hard with their life force and our Kāi Tahu narratives are now visible to all of us.



Figure 12. Simone Montgomery (Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe, Kāi Tahu), *For Titi Palmer*, 2021. Paper, photocopy print, flax paper, clay pigment, flax, polyester thread, tracing paper, and cotton muslin, dimensions variable. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery

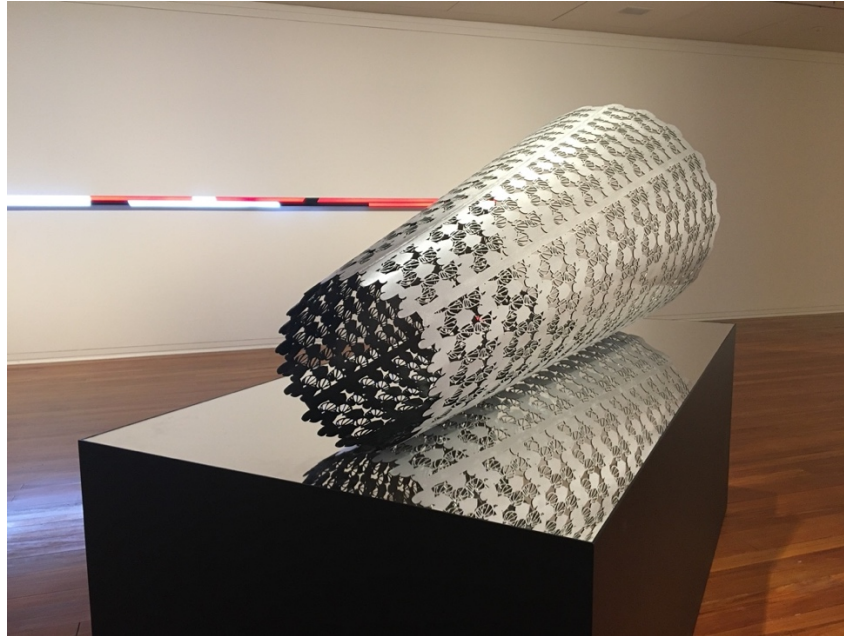


Figure 13. Foreground: Lonnie Hutchinson (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Kurī), *Becoming Sound*, 2021. Laser-cut and powder-coated aluminium, 800mm x 800 x 2000 mm. Background: Nathan Pōhio (Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe, Kāi Tahu, Ngāi Tūāhuriri), *Te Māku and Māhoranuiātea / The Mist and the Horizon*, 2021. Aluminium section, lead, acrylic, 210 x 8000 x 70 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artists, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 14. Simon Kaan (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Irakehu, Kāti Mako), *Whakaruku* (detail), 2021. Digital photograph on cotton paper, ceramic waka, dimensions variable. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 15. Megan Brady (Kāi Tahu), *It rains, and we swim*, 2021. Memory foam, dimensions variable. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 16. Jennifer Katarina Rendall (Kāi Tahu, Orkney Island, European, Kāti Kūri, Kāti Waewae, Kāti Rakiāmoa), (left) *Te Moemoeā ā Māmā Rīwai*, 2021, 1615 x 1555 mm and (right) *Te Nehenehe Kahurangi (The Blue Forest)*, 2020. Acrylic, fabric paint, furnishing fabric, 2290 x 1555 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 17. Paulette Tamati-Elliffe (*Kāi Te Pahi, Kāi Te Ruahikihiki [Ōtākou], Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Mūtunga*) and *whanau*, Komene Cassidy (*Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Takoto*), Rachael Rakena (*Kāi Tahu, Ngāpuhi*), Michael Bridgman (*Tonga, Ngāti Pākehā*), Laughton Kora (*Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Pūkeko, Ngāti Awa*), Iain Frengley (*Ngāti Pākehā*), Ross Hemera (*Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, Kāi Tahu*), Mara TK (*Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Tainui*), Amber Bridgman (*Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Rabuvai*), and He Waka Kōtuaia, *Ko te Wai, He Wai Ora* (detail), 2021. Sixteen-channel video installation, dimensions variable. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artists, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 18. Installation view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Artworks shown by Martin Awa Clarke Langdon (*Kāi Tahu, Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Whawhākia*), Kate Stevens West (*Kāi Tahu*), and Caitlin Donnelly (*Kāi Tahu, Pākehā*). Courtesy of the artists, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 19. Left: Madison Kelly (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Mamoe) and Mya Morrison-Middleton (Kāi Tahu, Ngāi Tūāhuriri), *Tūtakitaka*, 2021. *Tohorā rara* (whale rib, found near Waiputai), milled *harakeke* fibre, *whītau* (Makaweroa, Ruapani, no. 88), glass beads, *tōtara*, feathers, sea glass, two-channel audio track; Right: Ephraim Russell (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwāhine, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Rangitāne ki Tāmaki Nui a Rua), *Taki Apakura (Lament)*, 2021. Mixed media, 2300 x 540 x 100 mm. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artists, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 20. Ayesha Green (Kāi Tāhu, Ngāti Kahungunu) and Kāi Tahu *whanau*, *Tūpuna Portraits*, 2021. Acrylic on plywood, dimensions variable. On view in *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artists, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 21. Public program of *tūpuna* (ancestor) portrait-making, Ōtakou Marae, January 29, 2022, in conjunction with the exhibition *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021, to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of Kāi Tahu *whanau* and Paemanu Charitable Trust



Figure 22. Simon Kean of Kaihaukai setting out *kai* (food) including customary fare for the *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi* opening event, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021. Courtesy of Paemanu Charitable Trust and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 23. Te Pou Herenga, drop-in weaving wānaka (workshop) led by local multimedia artist Amber Bridgman (Kāi Tahu) during the opening weekend of *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021. Courtesy of Paemanu Charitable Trust and Dunedin Public Art Gallery



Figure 24. Zoe Hall (Kāi Tahu), *Bloodline*, 2022. Acrylic, mural installation view. *Paemanu: Tauraka Toi*, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, December 11, 2021 to April 25, 2022. Courtesy of the artist, Paemanu Charitable Trust, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery

Paemanu: Ngāi Tahu Contemporary Visual Arts would like to thank all of its contributors and supporters. We acknowledge the staff of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, who have been exceptional project partners and generous hosts, sharing knowledge and developing relationships that have created new routes and approaches forward. Paemanu has made good anchorage there with our *waka* (water craft) full of treasured artworks. We will depart and return often to our *tauraka* (anchorage) at DPAG, provided this new landing place continues to be a safe haven in which to cultivate a vibrant Kāi Tahu visual culture for future generations.

Areta Wilkinson has developed a significant art practice over twenty-seven years that investigates the intersection of applied art (contemporary jewelry) as a form of knowledge and practice with Māori philosophies, especially whakapapa, an interconnected worldview informed by Kāi Tahu tribal perspectives. Wilkson received a PhD in creative arts through Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi School of Māori Art Knowledge and Education at Massey University. She was the recipient of the Creative New Zealand Craft Object Fellowship (2015) and exhibited at APT9 (2019) at the Queensland Art Gallery | Gallery of Modern Art. In 2022, she was awarded the Arts Foundation Laureate Jillian Friedlander Te Moananui-a-Kiwa award for an outstanding Māori/Pasifika artist.

Paemanu: Ngāi Tahu Contemporary Visual Arts was formed in 2013 by a group of Kāi Tahu contemporary visual art professionals dedicated to advancing Kāi Tahu visual culture through creative and innovative artistic expression. Wilkinson has been a trustee since its establishment (www.paemanu.org.nz).

Notes

¹ The word *paemanu* translates as “the perch of the birds.” It also means “collar bone” or “canoe thwart,” both fundamental support structures. With respect to the artist group, the notion is of a perch where *manu* (birds) find sanctuary and sustenance or, conversely, the platform from which they launch. Paemanu draws its creative spirit from the imagery found in ancestral rock paintings, particularly that of a bird with smaller birds perched on its wingspan drawn on limestone in the Waitaki Valley.

Kāi Tahu are an Indigenous tribal group of Te Waipounamu, the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Paemanu generates projects to achieve the collective’s mission “to cultivate a vibrant Kāi Tahu visual culture for future generations by exploring Kāi Tahutaka (Kāi Tahu identity) through contemporary visual arts.”

More information is available on the group's website: <https://www.paemanu.co.nz/>.

² The Dunedin Public Art Gallery (<https://dunedin.art.museum>) is currently under the directorship of Cam McCracken. Its current curatorial staff includes Lucy Hammond, Tim Pollock, and Lauren Gutsell. Paemanu is gathered under the legal entity of Paemanu Charitable Trust, which was established in 2013. The trustees are Ross Hemera, Kiri Jarden, Simon Kaan, Martin Langdon, Nathan Pohio, Rachael Rakena, Rongomaiaia Te Whaiti, and Areta Wilkinson. The Paemanu curatorial artists leading *Tauraka Toi* are Ayesha Green, Ross Hemera, Lonnie Hutchinson, Kiri Jarden, Simon Kaan, Martin Langdon, Vicki Lenihan, Peter Robinson, Nathan Pohio, Rachael Rakena, Rongomaiaia Te Whaiti, and Areta Wilkinson. The Paemanu project manager is Natalie Jones.

³ A two-minute video of the ceremony is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCukqKseLc8>.

⁴ For more about the principles of *kaupapa* Māori, see <http://www.rangahau.co.nz/research-idea/27/>.

SOPHIE McINTYRE

Introduction to “Site and Materials”

Abstract

This essay introduces the “Site and Materials” section of “Grounded in Place: Dialogues between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa,” a special issue of Pacific Arts. Employing a range of media, from bull kelp to industrial steel wool and rami fibre, artists Mandy Quadrio (Australia) and Yuma Taru (Taiwan) discuss their respective artistic practices in relation to the loss and recovery of ancestral and creative connections with Country and community. Their essays reflect upon the past and the impact of colonisation on Indigenous communities and cultural traditions. They also demonstrate the increasingly important role artists play in raising awareness about the survival of Indigenous peoples and cultural practices, and the value of the environment for future generations.

Keywords: *First Nations artists, Indigenous art, land, place, identity, community, sovereignty, Aboriginal Australia, Taiwan*

This section of “Grounded in Place” explores the theme “Site and Materials” through the artistic practices of Mandy Quadrio (Australia) and Yuma Taru (Taiwan).¹ These two artists seek to reconnect with their Country, literally and metaphorically, and shed light on their ancestral histories and material cultures, which are deeply embedded in place. Their papers reflect on the complex and often contested relationship between land/site as a valuable natural resource and as a place of belonging and sovereignty.

Mandy Quadrio is a Trawlwoolway artist from Trouwunna (Tasmania), currently living in Meanjin (Brisbane), whose practice spans sculpture, installation, photography, and mixed media. Quadrio’s paper explores her connections to Country through several key works that are deeply personal and symbolic, describing them as “anchored in an enduring and ever-developing sense of place and ground.”² Seeking to reclaim and reassert Palawa identity and agency, Quadrio observes the significance of the materials she uses in her work, specifically Tasmanian bull kelp and industrial steel wool, which allude, respectively, to the adaptability and endurance of the Palawa people and colonialist efforts to remove or erase them from their land and from history. She

also persuasively argues for the need to challenge and disrupt Western colonial and patriarchal structures in a museum context, and describes the exhibition tactics she employs to inspire and generate political and social change.

Since the early 1990s, Yuma Taru has dedicated herself to the revival of Atayal culture and knowledge systems, particularly Atayal traditional weaving and dyeing techniques. Yuma received a Han Chinese education, and as an adult rediscovered her Atayal heritage and reclaimed her name. In her paper, Yuma describes her personal and artistic journey of returning to her community through learning about and cultivating the ramie plant, which, prior to colonisation, was commonly grown and used to make Atayal clothing. Yuma identifies three stages in this journey: the revival of ramie as a weaving material, the revival of culture, and the revival of traditional Indigenous lifestyles. For Yuma, the ramie plant is not simply a material she uses to create her fibre installations; it is a reminder of the displacement of Atayal communities brought about by colonisation and urbanisation and the resulting loss of their cultural heritage and traditional practices. Ramie is the cultural fibre that reconnects her to the land and to her community.

*Dr Sophie McIntyre is a senior lecturer at the Queensland University of Technology, and a curator and writer specialising in art from Taiwan and the Asia-Pacific region. She is the author of *Imagining Taiwan: The Role of Art in Taiwan's Quest for Identity* (Brill, 2018), and has published widely on visual art, museology, cultural diplomacy, and identity politics. McIntyre initiated the 2021 symposium [Grounded in Place: Dialogues Between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan and Aotearoa](#), which she co-organised with Dr Fang Chun-wei and Dr Zara Stanhope. McIntyre has worked as a director and curator in museums in Australia, Taiwan, and New Zealand. Her curated exhibitions include *Ink Remix: Contemporary Art from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong*; *Penumbra: New Media Art from Taiwan*; and *Islanded: Contemporary Art from New Zealand, Singapore and Taiwan* (with Lee Weng Choy and Eugene Tan).*

Notes

¹ A third artist, Sarah Hudson (Aotearoa New Zealand), also participated in the symposium, but was, unfortunately, unable to submit a paper to this volume.

² Mandy Quadrio, "Grounds for Existence," paper presented at the "Grounded in Place: Dialogues Between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa" symposium, October 9, 2021.

MANDY QUADRIO

Ground into Place

Abstract

As a Trawlwoolway artist from Trouwunna, also known as Tasmania, I seek to challenge Western constructs of Australian colonial histories. I work to liberate Palawa cultural objects from their hidden status, often combining them with Western manufactured materials. I make art in response to legacies of colonial oppression and towards a full acknowledgement of Palawa presence.

Tasmanian bull kelp and industrially produced steel wool are signature materials in my practice. Bull kelp becomes an expression of Palawa presence, while steel wool denotes erasures and the attempted colonialist “scrubbing out” of Palawa identity. Both materials transform over time, referencing how, as Palawa people, we are adaptable and able to incorporate change as a part of our strong cultural continuum.

When installing my works in galleries and museum spaces, these sites often become my secondary studio. I use my signature materials in these spaces to literally and metaphorically disrupt colonial and institutional architecture. Such disruptions leave room for personal narratives to be formed. Some installation strategies that I employ include denying viewers access to my work and creating voids and dark spaces. These actions are utilised in the hope that they might ultimately inspire social and political change.

Keywords: *Palawa, bull kelp, steel wool, cultural continuum, First Nations, Australia, colonial history*

Through the 2021 “Grounded in Place” symposium that was the impetus for this paper, First Nations artists including myself were offered a generative space in which to develop cross-cultural dialogue. During these exchanges, it became clear that socio-political concerns for our First Nations communities and the ways that we navigate our worlds are paramount to the content of our works. Operating against a background of colonialist-attempted annihilations and persistent systemic racism, we seek to create openings to understanding and new ways of expressing our specific First Nations experiences.

The title of this paper aims to encapsulate the relentless pounding of fictitious colonial detritus that acts on Tasmanian Aboriginal people.¹ This colonial

rubbish includes the myth that Palawa people are extinct. The need to continually reject lies about our so-called extinction exacts a heavy toll on us, both individually and within our communities, and has led me to use my art as an act of resistance. As a socio-political artist, I work to assert Palawa presence and visibility.

Since the colonial presence began in Trouwunna, also known as Tasmania, in 1803, the Indigenous inhabitants have been subjected to intentional, government-sanctioned attempts of annihilation. These efforts included the instigation of martial law, the removal of our people from our lands, and our ongoing forced assimilation into the wider, non-Indigenous population.² Despite our continued existence, our extinction is believed as fact by many Australians today. However, we Palawa are adaptable; we continue to maintain strong connections to our community, our culture, and our place, and we keep our cultural selves firmly grounded on Country.

Through my maternal line, I claim connection to the ancestral Countries of Tebrakunna in north-east Trouwunna, and the Oyster Bay Nation of eastern Trouwunna. Additionally, I am connected to the Bass Strait Islands to the north-east of Trouwunna, where Palawa people were initially exiled and imprisoned by colonial governments. These islands subsequently became the home of my grandmothers and, later, my mother. Both the Bass Strait Islands and my Countries are the places that anchor me, sustain my identity, and support me to hold and practice from my inherited knowledge base. In these ways, I am affirmed in my ongoing, contemporary existence as a proud Trawlwoolway woman, knowing the places from which I claim my sovereign status.

Senior Trawlwoolway woman Aunty Patsy Cameron asserts that our island communities emerged as predominantly matriarchal societies.³ She states that even though Palawa women became linked to European male sealers and whalers inhabiting the Bass Strait Islands, our women were the foundational drivers of these isolated and marginalised communities.⁴ Historian Lynette Russell notes how Palawa women skilfully negotiated cultural borders and accommodated new lifestyles—they lived from their deep cultural bases while developing new strategies, new ceremonies, and even a new creole language.⁵ She adds that such competencies challenge the assumption that “native newcomer-engagements” simply consolidated the power relations of white men.⁶ It was Palawa women who demonstrated the strength of cultural survival and adaptability—strength that endures in contemporary times and in the face of ongoing denial.

Being the creative agent of my own destiny, I express my cultural continuity as I adhere to cultural understandings, responsibilities, and protocols. My works carry both tangible and intangible aspects of culture based on what I experience and learn when I am on Country, viewing Tasmanian rock engravings and petroglyphs, holding artefacts, and being in the presence of the ancestors.

Two materials are signature to my art practice: bull kelp (*Durvillaea potatorum*) and steel wool. I continue the historic and contemporary Palawa use of bull kelp as a cultural material and I use steel wool to scour or scrub out colonialist notions of Palawa extinction. Bull kelp is a pliable algae that forms into dense ocean forests in the cool, coastal Trouwunnan waters and its shorelines, while steel wool is a harsh, industrially manufactured material. The bull kelp, a long-time element of Palawa material culture, solidifies cultural presence and continuity in my work. In contrast, the tough, abrasive steel wool references the harsh treatment of Indigenous Australian peoples since colonisation and the attempted “scrubbing away” of our cultures and identities. By using these two distinctly different materials, I address both grounded and “ground-in” aspects of Palawa life. While one is natural and the other machine-made, bull kelp and steel wool are both unstable materials, altering over the passage of time. Observing physical changes as the materials transform with time, I consider questions such as:

What is it that we remember?

Whose time are we on?

What are these linear constructs of past, present, and future?

In my work, I frequently re-use and re-configure bull kelp and steel wool, forging a dialogue between memories past and present. In the act of remembering, I take advantage of residues and fragments from previous forms.

Many of my art installations respond to the architecture of place. I frequently work to corrupt the conventional reading of the gallery, the institution, or the space. At times, I deny full viewing access, creating voids and dark spaces. At other times, I invite the audience to walk into and through the work. In this way, viewers become protagonists within the work, where they are able to develop their own narratives and form their own questions.



Figure 1. Mandy Quadrio, *Strike at the foundation*, 2020 (detail). Steel wool, 165 x 320 x 100 cm, installed in *Rite of Passage*, Queensland University of Technology Art Museum, March 7–May 10, 2020. Photograph courtesy of the artist



Figure 2. Mandy Quadrio, *Strike at the foundation* (detail), 2020. Steel wool, 165 x 320 x 100 cm, installed in *Rite of Passage*, Queensland University of Technology Art Museum, March 7–May 10, 2020. Photograph by Louis Lim. Courtesy of the artist

In the 2020 exhibition *Rite of Passage*, a survey of art by Indigenous women held at two prominent Queensland venues, my installation *Strike at the foundation* (2020) occupied an entire room.⁷ Utilising theatrical light beams that radiated out from the edges of a central support pillar (Fig. 1), I created voids and dark spaces on one side to draw attention to the omissions and erasures in Australian colonial histories. On the other side of the pillar, a drape of steel wool cascaded from the high ceiling and tumbled down across the floor (Fig. 2).⁸ Entangled folds contained secret pockets and hidden hollows. Voids and dark spaces regularly appear in my works, as I have many unknowns and dark holes in my personal history. My mother went missing when I was a baby, and her disappearance was never investigated. She has never been found. This is a personal example of how the Australian police force treat Indigenous women as indispensable and unimportant when they go missing.



Figure 3. Mandy Quadrio, *here lies lies* (detail), 2019. Steel wool, 250 x 120 x 50 cm, installed at Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, November 15–23, 2019. Photograph by Louis Lim. Courtesy of the artist

Whenever possible, I choose to corrupt and to challenge the viewing of stolid, fixed, Western architecture, with its oppressive, rigid, and patriarchal overlays and stories. In the steel wool and text-based installation *here lies lies* (2019),

shown at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (TMAG) in Hobart, Trouwunna, I confronted long-held Western narratives of denial (Fig. 3). The TMAG building is particularly significant for me, as it is one of the oldest colonial buildings in Trouwunna.⁹ The assumed rights of invaders are evident in the museum’s placement on Palawa land without permission, without acknowledgement of the land’s original occupants, and with the establishment of lies as history. One of these lies is exemplified in the display of the skeletal remains of a Nuennonne woman named Truganini as an artefact of an extinct people. When Truganini died in 1876 she was described as the last “full blood” Tasmanian Aboriginal person; it was then inaccurately declared that Palawa people were extinct.¹⁰ Truganini’s skeleton was put on display in a glass vitrine inside the Tasmanian Museum from 1903 until 1947. Her bones were presented as bizarre evidence of the so-called “last Tasmanian Aborigine,” and were meant to signal the passing of a race of people.¹¹

Over its history, TMAG has long held and presented conquering and acquisitive narratives that have perpetuated the myth of Palawa extinction. In response to the museum’s narratives, I created the work *here lies lies* (2019). This work appeared in the subterranean depths of the darkened Bond Store Basement of the TMAG and it was in this space that I was able to bring my stories home.



Figure 4. Mandy Quadrio, *here lies lies* (detail), 2019. Steel wool, 400 x 80 x 100 cm, installed at Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, November 15–23, 2019. Photograph by Louis Lim. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 5. Mandy Quadrio, *here lies lies* (detail), 2019. Cast bronze text, 50 x 8 x 1 cm, installed at Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, November 15–23, 2019. Photograph by Louis Lim. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 6. Mandy Quadrio, *here lies* (detail), 2019. Sandstone block wall and cast resin text, dimensions variable, installed at Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, November 15–23, 2019. Photograph by Louis Lim. Courtesy of the artist

In presenting my opposition to inaccurate ethnographic representations of Tasmanian Aboriginal people, I cloaked a central, foundational pillar of the building in long, smooth swathes of coarse steel wool, prompting such questions as: What is buried here? I continued the *here lies lies* installation further into the darkened Bond Store Basement with a four-metre-long form shaped like a traditional Palawa boat, constructed from entangled steel wool and placed on the stone floor (Fig. 4). This vessel acted to describe and carry the history of my coastal people’s engagement with the sea. While making erased colonial histories visible, this canoe form was also interwoven with the more recent violent history of the enforced and undesired transportation and exile of my people to the Bass Strait Islands. In multiple places around the stone floor, I placed bronze castings of the words “here lies lies” (Fig. 5). The texts resembled tombstone inscriptions, implying a graveyard and the presence of death. These words were an utterance, a statement, that viewers stumbled and kicked over, implicating the viewer in this so-called history. Because the TMAG might still hold the bones of my ancestors, I used a large sandstone-block wall in the back room of the Museum’s basement to establish a metaphorical tombstone for my ancestors (Fig. 6). Embedded in the dirt at the base of this wall were the two words “here lies.” The installation *here lies lies* acted to bring together and house both the psychological residues and the physical markers of loss—my personal experience of loss and the broader losses that my people have experienced since invasion.



Figure 7. Mandy Quadrio, *her* (detail), 2020. Bull kelp, 250 x 40 x 20 cm, installed at Milani Gallery CARPARK space, Brisbane, Queensland, September 5–26, 2020. Courtesy of the artist

Beyond referencing historical trauma, I also present works that celebrate my womanhood and cultural strengths and richness. The three-room installation *her* (2020) acted as both a celebration of and a memorial for my mother, who disappeared without trace when I was a baby (Fig. 7). I will forever lament her disappearance. I actively presented her and the memories that I hold of her in the partially demolished basement of the Milani Gallery's CARPARK space in Brisbane, which could also be read as an archaeological dig or even a forensic site. I used dried and aged tendrils of thick bull kelp to create a body shape on the floor, one with a mummy-like, skin-like surface that enveloped trauma in search of beauty. Occupying a separate room, a canoe-like form made from rusted steel wool was created as an emotional vessel to carry the stories of my mother and grandmother, who, under forced dispersal, had to leave their Tasmanian homeland (Fig. 8). Invoking a bodily affect, the interior of the canoe hinted at the interiority of the female body. I metaphorically floated between inserting myself, then my mother, then my grandmother, and then I found myself offering a space for other Indigenous women to find safe harbour in this vessel.



Figure 8. Mandy Quadrio, *her* (detail), 2020. Rusted steel wool, 150 x 70 x 50 cm, installed at Milani Gallery CARPARK space, Brisbane, Queensland, September 5–26, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 9. Mandy Quadrio, *her* (detail), 2020. Steel wool and bull kelp, 250 x 200 x 20 cm, installed at Milani Gallery CARPARK space, Brisbane, Queensland, September 5–26, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 10. Mandy Quadrio, installation view of the exhibition *The Country Within*, 2019. Left to right: *From the tide*, bull kelp and tea tree spear; *Dancing on Tebrakunna*, bull kelp and steel grid; and *Speaking with Alizon*, bull kelp and bullet belt; dimensions variable; installed at the Belltower Gallery, Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane, Queensland, June 22–August 17, 2019. Photograph by Carl Warner. Courtesy of the artist

The last piece in the installation *her* included a three-metre-wide suspended relief (Fig. 9). Consisting of both smooth and entangled fibres, this sinuous, swollen, and animated architectural piece was constructed from steel wool and bull kelp. As a monument to my mother, this work referred to living, culturally present Palawa women and our female bodies. This is a form that, despite grinding histories, is based in contemporary presence and herstories.

Another installation affirming my Palawa existence was *The Country Within* (2019) held at the Belltower Gallery, Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane. Within this exhibition, I presented the work *Dancing on Tebrakunna*: long, abstract forms of stitched and bound bull kelp suspended from a rectangular steel grid (Fig. 10). Oiled and ochred, the strong bull kelp membranes enacted a healing of the psychic wounds that I have carried from the oppressive influences of colonisation. In the gaps and spaces between the forms, I enabled my stories to be present and to be re-activated.



Figure 11. Mandy Quadrio, *Dancing on Tebrakunna* (detail), 2019. Bull kelp and steel grid, dimensions variable, installed at the Belltower Gallery, Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane, Queensland, June 22–August 17, 2019. Courtesy of the artist

Being an organic, algal material, bull kelp responds to changes in atmospheric pressure and humidity. I can manipulate and control the kelp to an extent, but when it is exposed to environmental variations, it resists any form of control; it can shrink, expand, soften, harden, become brittle, or go limp. It performs. Responding to the environment of the Belltower Gallery, where large doors onto the street were frequently opened, the bull kelp forms moved and changed shape on a continual basis. These material transformations were unpredictable and I found myself having to surrender to the changes. Entering a performative mode, I allowed the hanging sculptural forms to gently dance and move freely in the breezes. In addition to the daily changes of the bull kelp, the gallery's night-time lighting also activated the material and it performed in further unexpected ways. The illumination of *Dancing on Tebrakunna's* steel support threw a delicate, mesh-like, cartographic grid-like shadow on the concrete floor that interwove with the bull kelp's shadows and contributed a further complexity to the reading of the work (Fig. 11). This acted to represent how elements of my Trawlwoolway cultural expression and Western influences were dancing together.



Figure 12. Mandy Quadrio, *Face to face to face*, 2019. Digital photographs, bullet belt, and bull kelp, 600 x 84 x 20 cm, in BEAUT (Brisbane and Elsewhere Art UnTriennial), Kuiper Projects, Brisbane, Queensland, April 26–May 5, 2019. Photograph by Kyle Weise. Courtesy of the artist

In a further act of resistance, I created the work *Face to face to face* for the Brisbane and Elsewhere Art UnTriennial (BEAUT) in 2019 (Fig. 12). In this series of self-portraits, I chose to question stereotypical notions of identity. I attempt to peer out through a somewhat formless brown stocking in order to challenge assumptions that are frequently made about identity. In this work, I address questions that I am frequently confronted by, such as “Is she brown enough to be Aboriginal?” and “Is she too white to be Aboriginal?” I am repeatedly asked by non-Indigenous people to validate my Palawa identity because I don’t fit into often-held stereotypes of what an Aboriginal Australian should look like. Attached to one of the photographic images was a colonial bullet belt. Referencing violent contact histories, this belt framed and applied a crushing erasure to my face. Inserted into the bullet capsules of the belt were strong sinews of Trouwunna bull kelp that acted to render the bullet belt impotent and to diminish its threat to my existence.

As I work to assert the continuum of Palawa existence, I use my signature materials for their aesthetic, symbolic, and cultural relevance. While the bull kelp is a potent signifier of Palawa existence, I work the harsh, abrasive steel wool with a resolve to show that my people will not disappear. I invite my materials to transform as I engage with conversations and considerations around colonialism, history, and race while grounding my Palawa presence.

Mandy Quadrio is a proud Trawlwoolway, Tasmanian Aboriginal woman with strong connections to her ancestral Countries of Tebrakunna, north-east Trouwunna, and the Oyster Bay Nation of eastern Trouwunna, Australia. A visual artist currently based in Meanjin, also known as Brisbane, she works across sculpture, installation, photography, and mixed media. She was recently awarded a doctorate of visual art from the Queensland College of Art, Griffith University, Brisbane, Queensland. Through her practice, Quadrio reimagines cultural artefacts and found objects to achieve public and personal meaning through the politics of their materiality. She acts to counter the pervasive myth of Palawa extinction and to foreground historic and contemporary Palawa lived experience.

Notes

¹ “Palawa” is a word that Tasmanian Aboriginal people use to define themselves. See N.J.B. Plomley, *A Word-List of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Languages* (Launceston: Foot and Playsted, 1976), 316.

² “Trouwunna” is the name used for the island of Tasmania. Plomley, *A Word-List of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Languages*, 70.

³ Patsy Cameron, “Pallawah Women: Their Historic Contribution to Our Survival. Part 1: A Matriarchal Heritage,” *Tasmanian Historical Research Association* 41, no. 2 (1994): 65–67.

⁴ Cameron, “Pallawah Women,” 42-43.

⁵ Lynette Russell, *Roving Mariners: Australian Aboriginal Whalers and Sealers in the Southern Oceans, 1790–1870* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 102.

⁶ Russell, *Roving Mariners*, 102.

⁷ *Rite of Passage*, curated by Shannon Brett, was held at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT) Art Museum, Brisbane, from March 7 to May 10, 2020. The show then toured to NorthSite Contemporary Arts, Cairns, from September 24 to November 21, 2020. It featured the work of eleven Indigenous Australian female artists, including myself.

⁸ The central pillar within my installation at the QUT Art Museum was physically “extended” by sixty centimetres along the length of the ceiling. This artificial extension was then draped in steel wool. Given that this work was site-specific and could only exist in this space, it did not travel to the second iteration of the exhibition. Instead, a separate steel wool dilly bag was presented at the Cairns presentation of the show.

⁹ The Tasmanian Museum was established in 1843 by The Royal Society, the oldest Royal Society outside of England. See <https://www.tmag.tas.gov.au>.

¹⁰ “Full blood” is a racist description used to define Aboriginal people in terms of blood quantum.

¹¹ See John J. Cove, *What the Bones Say: Tasmanian Aborigines, Science and Domination* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995), 50.

YUMA TARU 尤瑪·達陸

The Future of our Roots and the Land: The Revival of the Atayal Weaving Material Ramie

Abstract

This study focuses on ramie, a nettle plant known for its length and toughness used in traditional weaving by the Atayal, an Indigenous people in Taiwan. It discusses the Lihang Workshop's revival of traditional weaving practices over the last thirty years and the application of these practices in art and culture. It also looks at historical writings about ramie, its role in the development of contemporary culture, and the use of the entire plant in adhering to the concepts of zero waste and a circular economy in Atayal culture.

Keywords: *ramie, Atayal culture, weaving, Indigenous Taiwanese art, collaborative art, circular economy, zero waste, First Nations*

Introduction

This paper focuses on ramie, a nettle plant known for its length and toughness, that is used in traditional weaving by the Atayal, an Indigenous people in Taiwan. It discusses the Lihang Workshop's revival of weaving practices using ramie over the last thirty years and the application of these techniques in art and culture. It also looks at historical writings about ramie, its role in the development of contemporary culture, and the use of the entire plant in adhering to the concepts of zero waste and a circular economy, which is a regenerative system that reduces the input, waste, and emissions of resources by slowing, closing, and narrowing material and energy cycles, in Atayal culture.¹

The description of each stage of creation or artwork in this text is preceded by a poem. In traditional Atayal culture, before a ritual or when formally meeting someone for the first time, it is customary for the occasion to be verbally outlined through an improvised poem chanted to the accompaniment of established melodies. I have adopted the same tradition to introduce my essay and the discussion of each of my artworks. It is the contemporary works that are introduced this way.

Revival of Materials

*I am sitting by the edge of a river that never stops flowing.
Its name is the L'liung Penux.
I am on the side of a dignified, life-infused mountain.
Its name is Sasaum.
This soil has nurtured the growth of my memory and skills,
just as the first ramie I planted.
Its name is K'gi.
It is guiding me
from its past to its future.*

—Yuma Taru

While working as a public servant in my twenties, I was part of the 1990 opening of the Weave Craft Museum at the Taichung County Cultural Centre.² At that time I became more conscious of my Atayal identity and the need to do more to prevent the complete disappearance of Atayal cultural traditions and customs, and I began pondering how I could help to revive it.³ I left Taichung City in 1992 and returned to my home village Mapihaw in Maioli County, northern Taiwan, where I asked my maternal grandmother and great-aunt, who were daughters of the local leader (my great-grandfather), to teach me how to weave. They insisted that in order to truly know how to weave, I would have to grow ramie on my own. My immediate reaction was that this was unnecessary and archaic, and I pointed out that there were many other weaving materials readily available. My grandmother told me, “Traditional weaving is a skill that connects us to the land. If you don’t start out by growing your own ramie, you won’t understand how everything relates to the earth, wind, and water.” I still thoroughly objected inside. Ramie had not been grown in our village for over half a century. Trying to find it and then having to care for it would be major challenges. I was completely against it, but my grandmother and great-aunt insisted. They urged me to search for it, as they were certain that it could be found somewhere. So, I searched through old records to find information on it, asked many agricultural agencies, and visited numerous Indigenous villages. In 1996, I finally found some ramie in an Atayal village in the mountains of central Taiwan.

Four years after my search for ramie began, and after an exhausting hike in the mountains, I saw across the valley from me waves of silvery-white vegetation blowing in the wind. I wondered, with excitement, if I had finally found

ramie as, according to Atayal elders, ramie fields shine like fish scales in a stream. I instantly felt recharged, and my heart started beating intensely. I made my way to these very neatly organised terraced fields. It was ramie. Though I had thought ramie could not be found, here it was, growing densely and brimming with life in these mountains, probably for centuries. Upon hearing me say that I wished to grow my own ramie, the owner of the fields, Yaki Lavi, said, “I’ve been looking for someone who wants to do this for a long time. All these ramiess are yours for free. The only thing you have to do is commit to tending them until someone else comes along to take over for you.” I have held to this commitment for thirty years and counting.



Figure 1. Ramie plant used in the revival of Atayal weaving, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Baunay Watan

Bringing Back That Which Was Lost

Indigenous languages in Taiwan do not traditionally have writing systems, so our history is passed down orally. It is commonly said that Taiwan’s Indigenous people brought ramie with them when they settled the island thousands of years ago, since it was recognised as a strong and durable fibre that was resistant to mildew and suited to warm climates. In the *Book of Sui*, completed in 636 AD, Chapter 81 refers to ramie being grown in Taiwan and describes its various uses. It states: “Liu-qiu (a reference to Taiwan) is in the middle of the sea . . . men and women

there use white zhu (a reference to ramie) to tie their hair, from the back wrapping around to the forehead . . . they wear leather, multicolored zhu, and assorted feathers as clothes.”⁴ But in the 1970s, the once-abundant plant began its decline and started to slip from local memory.

Today, most Taiwanese Indigenous weavers are committed to using traditional materials and transmitting traditional thread-making skills. Ramie has thus begun to return to Taiwanese Indigenous communities. My husband and I have worked hard for thirty years to bring it back (Fig. 1), and through this work, we have come to know it and become conscious of its value. Thus, we have not only revived ramie but also initiated a revival of our entire culture.



Figure 2. The author undertaking museum collections research at Tokyo Kasei University, Japan, 2007. Photograph courtesy of Baunay Watan

Revival of Culture

The Apparel of Our Ancestors

Once I started learning to weave with my grandmother and great-aunt in 1992, my house grew into an informal workshop and a place frequently visited by the middle-aged and elderly of the village who were interested in what I was doing. On September 21, 1999, one of Taiwan's deadliest earthquakes in modern history, with a magnitude of 7.2, reduced my village to a disaster area and flattened my workshop. Following this catastrophe, the community members and I thought about how to use our expertise to help the community and to give my people a means of making a living. We prepared to rebuild the workshop and to train people in weaving by organising a system, including technique and materials, for making traditional clothing. Our workshop, Lihang Workshop, was established in 2002. Equipped with resources from the government and museums, over the next ten years my weavers and I completed over 500 Atayal garments and accessories, all the while practicing traditional ramie processing, dyeing, and weaving, and reviving this forgotten style of clothing within our community. We also made artwork with unprocessed ramie through simple traditional binding techniques.

During that first stage of our journey, we were looking for a mode or system with which to bring back the aspects of our culture that had been lost as a result of the cultural discontinuity that began during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895–1945). We did so through field investigations, analysis of woven articles in museums (Fig. 2), and the reproduction of weaving styles from previous generations. We conducted research on traditional clothing in museums in Taiwan (the National Taiwan Museum, the National Taiwan University Museum of Anthropology, and the National Museum of Prehistory) and overseas (Japan's National Museum of Ethnology, Tokyo Kasei University, the Tenri University Sankōkan Museum, and Canada's Royal Ontario Museum). At first, our research was focused on Atayal woven articles in these museums, but as people from other Taiwanese Indigenous groups joined our work and I became interested in their traditional techniques, we expanded our research to include the weaving of other groups as well. By using objects in museum collections to reacquire knowledge from the past, we brought back traditional clothing as symbols of contemporary Indigenous people in Taiwan. The knowledge contained within the woven articles in these museums allowed us to systematically organise the history, categories, and systems of traditional clothing.

Raging Waterfalls

ya-la-la.

The river water comes together as one!
It surges across the land
before plunging from towering heights,
morphing into a rainbow-colored mist.
la hui su waki.

ya-la-la.

I leave you with memories!
Though I'm gone forever,
I will never stop taking that plunge,
morphing into the waterfall within your heart.
la hui su waki.

—Yuma Taru

The first collaborative work I made with the women in the Lihang Workshop from the ramie we grew at the workshop is entitled *Raging Waterfalls* (Fig. 3). The piece was completed in August 1999, one month before the devastating earthquake. It depicts a pool and a waterfall deep in the mountains, where children loved to swim once the humidity and heat came up each year. With its beautiful, natural scenery and the rainbows created by the waterfall's mist, it was a place where pure and joyful memories were created. But the earthquake levelled the waterfall, and its beauty remains only in people's hearts and minds. We processed the work's ramie fibres by hand and arranged them to produce the flowing look of a waterfall. The top of each bundle of ramie is wrapped to give the effect of mist rising, illuminated and coloured by refracting sunshine. As the earthquake caused catastrophic destruction in the village, including at our workshop, there were myriad things that had to be restored, but the other weavers and I decided to focus on revitalising traditional weaving with ramie. During the long rebuilding process, we encountered numerous setbacks and difficulties. We just wanted to be like P'jit, the girl in an Atayal legend, who grew wings and flew over the mountains, away from her problems and to her paradise.



Figure 3. Yuma Taru, *Raging Waterfalls*, 1999. Ramie, wool, bamboo, and stone; dimensions variable. Installed at Yuan-chun Art Gallery, Taichung, Taiwan, August–September 1999. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 4. Yuma Taru, *Wings: Tminun*, 2009. Ramie, wool, and sisal hemp; 350 x 520 cm. Permanent installation at Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

Spreading the Wings of Dreams (2002)

*I wish to have wings
to fly over the lofty peaks
and away from my problems.*

*There is a legend of a girl who turned into a bird,
but who can give me feathers?
Wings can be woven
to take me away from the present.*

—Yuma Taru

Though we had to work each day on rebuilding our lives and surroundings, we also came up with many ideas for weaving. We were inspired to make pieces from ramie and goat hair, including *Wings: Tminun* (Fig. 4), which gave birth to *Spreading the Wings of Dreams* (Fig. 5), both in the *Raging Waterfalls* series. *Wings: Tminun* is based on the colours and patterning of an Atayal bridal garment and expresses the mood of the legend of a girl who turns into a bird. *Spreading the Wings of Dreams* is an abstract expression of *Wings: Tminun*. Its “wings” are made mostly of ramie tied using a basic technique to give the piece its colours by

a dyed wrapping wool, which reflect traditional Atayal garment colouring. Creating these works was a way for us to vent our feelings in the aftermath of the earthquake while also giving some of us a source of needed income.



Figure 5. Yuma Taru, *Spreading the Wings of Dreams*, 2002. Wool and ramie, 380 x 1000 x 50 cm. Permanent installation at the National Museum of Prehistory, Taitung, Taiwan. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

Over time, we rebuilt our homes, lives, and environment and things gradually returned to normal. We then began making *Era of Dream Building* (Figs. 6–8), also part of the *Raging Waterfalls* series, for which we continued to use the ramie we had been growing. Before making this piece, its weavers, who live in the mountains, visited the metro station near Dream World, a massive mall in an industrial area of the city of Kaohsiung where the finished work would be displayed.⁵ They were surprised to see people there paying for bottled spring water, because water is something that is abundant and free where they live, and were stunned by the heavily polluted sky above the city, which blocks out sunlight and prompts people to wear masks outdoors. As a result, the weavers decided to bring the crystal-clear waters of their Da'an River, the cool breezes of their mountains, and the blue sky and white clouds above their village to the city's inhabitants. *Era of Dream Building*, made mainly of ramie, highlights the clean, radiant, natural scenery of its artists' village using a variety of ramie-tying

methods. Looking back at that piece twenty years later, I can still see the artists' sense of motivation to restore and enhance the environment and our lives.



Figure 6. Yuma Taru, *Era of Dream Building*, 2009. Wool, ramie, sisal hemp, and stone; 600 x 220 cm. Permanent installation at the Kaisyuan Station, Kaohsiung Metro, Taiwan. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 7. Yuma Taru, *Era of Dream Building*, 2009. Wool, ramie, sisal hemp, and stone; 600 x 220 cm. Hsu Hui-jao, Chou Li-ping, and Yang Ya-chun (from left to right) are holding a portion of *Era of Dream Building* (2009) in Da'an River beside the Lihang Workshop. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 8. Yuma Taru, *Era of Dream Building*, 2009. Wool, ramie, sisal hemp, and stone; 600 x 220 cm. A portion of *Era of Dream Building* (2009) at the Lihang Workshop. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

Future Generations and Transmitting Cultural Knowledge: S'uraw Kindergarten

Over the years, many of the young women who had come to learn weaving at the Lihang Workshop got married and had children, so childcare became another challenge in my home village. From 2010 to 2013, we built a kindergarten inside an Atayal bamboo structure next to the workshop, which enabled the weavers to care for their children while working. The children—with the help of middle-aged and elderly members of the community, as well as professional teachers—participated in farming-related rituals, listened to oral history, and learned traditional handicraft and hunting techniques. Such a form of education, even among Indigenous villages in Taiwan, is a rarity. After six years, our experiences and achievements gave birth to P'uma Elementary School, Taiwan's first experimental, culturally-oriented Indigenous elementary school. The Atayal word *p'uma* means to make the community thrive, to nourish, and to transmit. As a result of the creation of this school, the traditional skills and beauty of Atayal culture have greater potential for survival.

The Spiral of Life Series

After the birth of my daughter in 2007, I thought of what my grandmother had once said about *tuminu na utux* (the weaving of our destinies by the ancestral spirits), which is the Atayal weaver's perspective of life:

*The entire life of an Atayal is strongly connected to weaving.
From the strong yet ordinary swaddling cloth I was wrapped in at birth
to the skirt and shawl I received, symbolising adulthood, after my face was
tattooed;
to the beautiful wedding gown I made for my marriage;
to the garments I made for my husband;
to the clothes I made for my children;
and, finally, to the burial shroud I made for myself before crossing the
Rainbow Bridge,
The entire life of an Atayal is connected to the thread we weave with.*

*But there is always one gap
that we weavers are unable to sew up.
Just as with life,
there is always that gap that can never be touched.*

—Yuma Taru

Once I started experiencing certain things my grandmother had spoken of—such as my coming of age, marriage, and having children—I gradually became able to depict Atayal interpretations of the cycle of life. The elders say that the life cycle of a weaver goes hand in hand with the creation of different woven articles. An Atayal girl gets her first woven article, a swaddling cloth, as a baby. When she is an adolescent, she has to make her own skirts. Before the age of seventeen or eighteen, she must learn how to make her own wedding gown, which involves the most technically difficult weaving and which she will wear the day she becomes part of someone else’s family. As a wife and mother, she has to make her husband’s and children’s clothing. Before she dies and crosses the Rainbow Bridge to be with her ancestors, and thus completes her life cycle, she must make her own *pala* or *t’yu* (burial shroud).

The Spiral of Life series, which began in 2009 (Fig. 9), reflects on these life cycles. In this piece, patterning was set aside, and the focus was instead on the overall three-dimensional presentation expressing the different stages of life of Atayal weavers. It was woven with, among other things, metallic thread as an experiment.



Figure 9. Yuma Taru, *Spiral of Life*, 2015. Metallic yarn, metallic paper, and stainless steel; dimensions variable. Installed at Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Canada, November 20, 2015–April 3, 2016. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

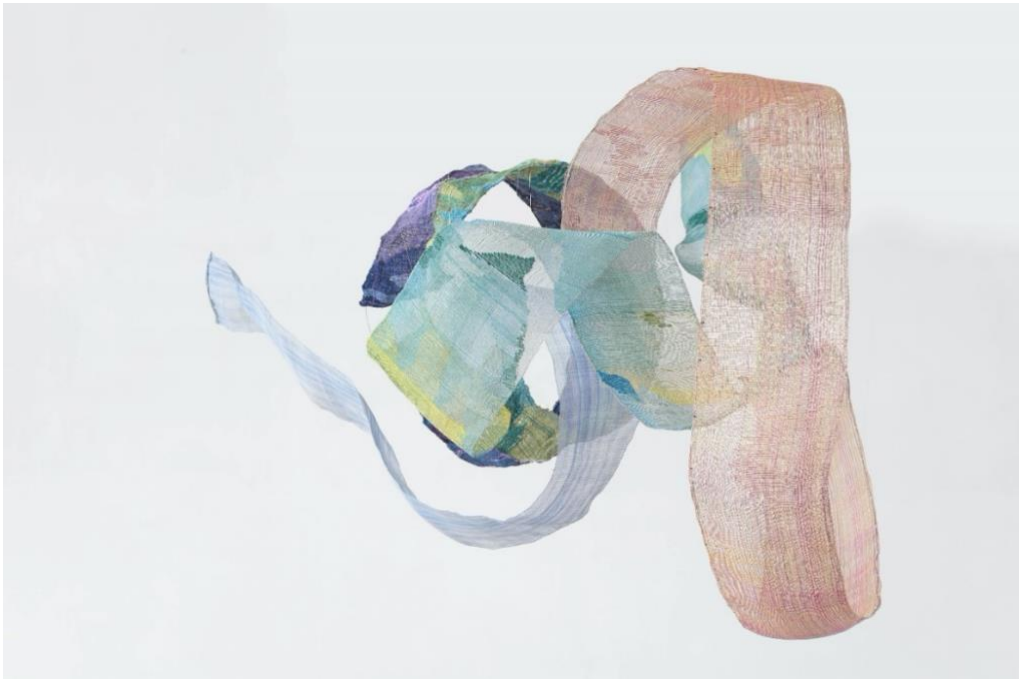


Figure 10. Yuma Taru, *Tongue of the Cloth (yan pala na hmali)*, 2021. Wool, ramie, metallic yarn, metallic thread, electrical wire, LED wires, metallic paper, and stainless steel; overall dimensions 600 x 240 x 360 cm. Exhibited as part of the 10th Asia Pacific Triennial, Queensland Art Gallery and Gallery of Modern Art, December 4, 2021–April 25, 2022. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

In Atayal society, the elderly teach us that when we reach middle age, we must start training ourselves to speak with wisdom and softness of tongue. They say it will help us to mediate disputes, be tolerant of imperfection, and record and pass down our history and experiences through song. In addition to helping me work toward comprehending how each phase of life is understood in traditional Atayal society, the *Spiral of Life* series also corresponds to my own life. For example, now that I am middle-aged, I look to give Atayal youths clear wisdom on managing their lives and far-reaching vision based on my experiences. *Tongue of the Cloth* (Fig. 10), a piece that is woven of metallic thread, electrical wire, and LED wires (which we call “electrical cloth” when woven together), represents the use of language, which is formless and transparent, as a means of communicating wisdom.

Revival of Lifestyle

Creating a Healthy Economy for the Atayal Community

Beginning in 2020, when I reached the third stage of my journey and middle age, the workshop’s weavers and I began to explore ideas relating to the environment, ecosystems, the economy, and culture and to look at how to integrate these into traditional Atayal ways of life, and vice-versa. For example, we applied traditional knowledge of ecosystems to the contemporary organic-ramie industry, enabling us to return to a form of economic activity that is eco-friendly and eco-restorative.

The effects of colonisation and modernisation in Taiwan have significantly impacted traditional Indigenous social structures and many Indigenous communities face social problems. Taiwanese Indigenous people have long been in the lower stratum of the modern economic development structure, leading to their exploitation and poverty. We wanted to use our workshop to integrate young and middle-aged men and the elderly into a system that helps the whole family and the economy because they have been neglected in our workshop activities for a while. In addition to *gaga*, the traditional Atayal spirit of cooperation handed down through the generations, this system sets out to establish a new economic mode for people of the village—a circular economy centred on ramie—so that the people of the village can have yet another means of self-sufficiency.

Circular Economy for Ramie

Our goal is to resuscitate and embed the ramie industry into our environment and community, and make our community economy and lifestyles healthier. In the early stages, ramie growers and farmers from inside and outside our village offered training to members of our community who wanted to learn how to weave. Our ramie output was insufficient, and it was not economically viable so it did not attract villagers to work in the industry. The Miaoli County Aboriginal Crafts Association suggested using the materials from the ramie plant that were not used in weaving, including the leaves and water used to soak ramie, and giving these to farmers who used it to feed their chicken and fishponds. This new circular economy model recycles and reduces waste, which benefits the economy, the environment, and people's lives. We also integrated different materials with ramie—such as leather, stone, and wood—to make useful and necessary items including furniture, costumes, and carrying bags. Throughout, we worked to deeply instil the concept of caring for the environment in the minds of villagers.

The workshop and the Miaoli County Aboriginal Crafts Association jointly built a commercial ecosystem that connects the processes of ramie production that have either disappeared or declined (plant cultivation, fibre extraction, and thread and cloth production), allowing every aspect of this ecosystem (people, ramie, chickens, fish, and the land) to develop productively.

By making use of the whole ramie plant, as was done traditionally, we conceived a new self-sufficient system for the village's culture and economy. This also ensures the protection and preservation of ecosystems and the natural environment, making sustainability and coexistence central to the village, in turn achieving the goals of eco-friendly land use, environmental sustainability, and cultural transmission.

A Woven Work Inspired by Care for the Environment

The Island's Four Seasons (2016)

*Shoots like white flowers have sprouted from the pihaw tree,
turning the whole mountain into a white cloud.
The mountains and wind say,
It is spring, time to sow!*

*When water flows in abundance down the mountain,
silvergrass grows along the stream banks.
The water and land say,
It is summer, time for the vegetation to thrive!*

*The landscape has been clothed in rich attire
of a radiant, colourful pattern.
Dreams of the rainbow float atop the water.
It is autumn, time for the harvest!*

*Mt. Xue is covered in snow,
and the singing of our ancestors
can be heard in the icy air.
Breath, like waves,
floats into the sea of clouds.
It shall not be forgotten!
It is winter!*

—Yuma Taru

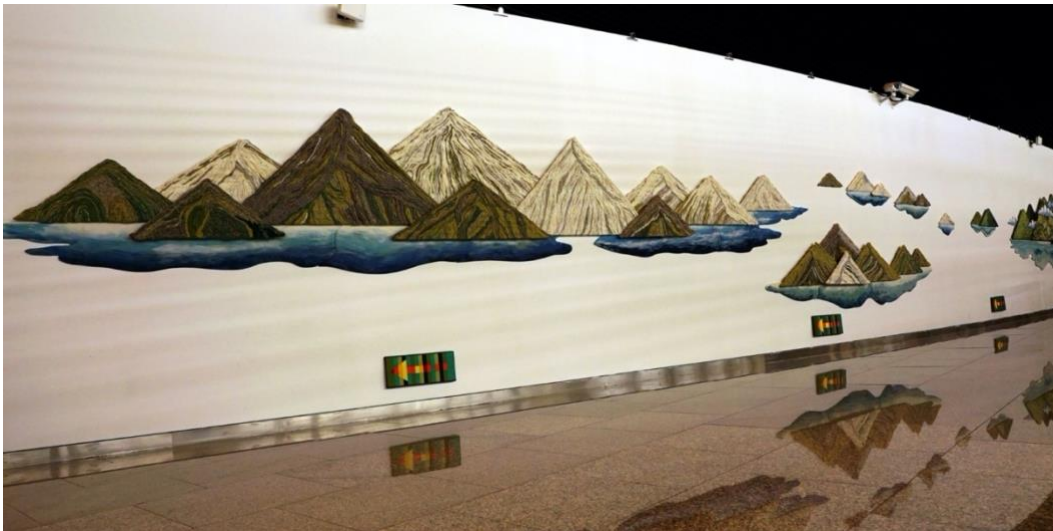


Figure 11. Yuma Taru, *The Island's Four Seasons*, 2016. Ramie, wool, polyester, and wood; 350 x 5400 cm. Permanent installation in the Arrivals Hall of Terminal 1, Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

With the artwork *The Island's Four Seasons*, completed in 2016, we moved away from our focus on the Atayal people to observe and experience the effects

of the four seasons around the island of Taiwan (Fig. 11). This piece, located in the arrivals area of Terminal 1 at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport, serves to welcome people from all over the world. While designing it, my idea was to shape arriving passengers' first impression of Taiwan's natural landscape. As you walk along the piece, you see successive renditions of spring, summer, fall, and winter, and a multitude of changes in topography and weather as they relate to the mountains, ocean, clouds, and waves.⁶ This is accomplished with a variety of fibres used in Atayal weaving, along with traditional Atayal methods of dyeing, weaving, knotting, embroidery, tying, and binding. The piece also depicts the various places Taiwanese Indigenous people live on the island. For spring, the tying and binding methods portray the solidity and loftiness of Taiwan's Central Mountain Range, while woollen cloth is used for the deep Pacific, its varying layers dyed different colours. For summer, the fabrics made from the Atayal weaving technique stlian (small pick-up pattern) portray the lush Mount Xue and the rushing waters of the Da'an River in central Taiwan. For autumn, cloth from each branch of the Atayal community is used to illustrate the profound calm of Sun Moon Lake and its surrounding mountains. The subject for winter is a sea of clouds hovering about Mt. Ali. Nearly 100 people—including women from Atayal communities, professional weavers, and university professors—worked on this sixty-metre piece for a year. Such collaboration is an embodiment of the abovementioned concept of *gaga*, which allowed numerous people to participate in the creation of the piece and to enjoy the spectacular results.

Early Death of a River (2017)

*I am sitting by the edge of a river that never stops flowing.
Its name is the L'liung Penux.*

*It formed during a legendary flood ages ago.
It is a wide, fierce, male river.*

*Today,
I sit by this river as my ancestors once did,
but I hear the unending sound of excavation
that fills the sky with dust.*

*The river is covered with wounds
and gasps weakly.*

Yet
I still sit by the edge of the L'liung Penux as my ancestors once did.

—Yuma Taru

Compared to the earth, which is about 4.6 billion years old, Taiwan is a mere infant, at 6.5 million years. Yet, it has been despoiled by humans within a very short time and is showing signs of an early death. Like many places in the world, Taiwan's natural environment has been despoiled by humans. Rivers in its mountain ranges have already experienced ageing, collapse, and destruction. In 2017, I worked with women from my village to make the large-scale piece *Early Death of a River* (Fig. 12). I used the word "early" in its title to refer to death during childhood or adolescence. I made the piece for the Da'an River (or L'liung Penux, meaning "wide and fierce" in the Atayal language), which flows through my village. According to an orally transmitted history, the Atayal moved to the middle and upper reaches of the Da'an River long ago. Today they live along this river in the Beishi area of Taichung, and call it the "male river." According to legend, the Da'an stopped a flood ages ago. I designed this artwork to go with a 2017 documentary series titled *Early Death of a River* on the destruction of the river by Atayal director Baunay Watan, who is my husband.⁷ Together, they describe how this beautiful river was ravaged by people within a short time since the 1990s. Natural and man-made disasters in Taiwan and around the world have increased, and the Atayal have watched the river die with the same sorrow that one might watch a child who cannot be saved die.

Early Death of a River was made using traditional weaving techniques. Because the women in my village live alongside this river and know it well, they kept adding things to my sketches for the design. We used rope made of hemp thread as the core and wool thread for the coloured outer layer. The rope is of differing thicknesses, and the way it is placed represents how the water flows—at times peaceful, at times surging. This piece is my way of expressing deep grief for humanity's ignorance and greed, the government's short-sightedness and disregard for the health of the river, and both the apathy and helplessness of Indigenous people. I hope that my work will make society cognisant of these problems and change viewpoints, in turn promoting action for the sake of a better tomorrow.



Figure 12. Yuma Taru, *Early Death of a River*, 2017. Wool, ramie, and hemp; dimensions variable. Exhibited at Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, Taiwan, October 7, 2017–February 20, 2018. Photograph by Baunay Watan. Courtesy of the artist

Conclusion

Since the age of twenty-nine, when I returned to my village, I have continued to create artworks and traditional items with my people. For me, art is a wonderful, challenging tool. It touches me invisibly and inspires my spirit, through which I form visible creations. Over the past three decades, the people of my community and I have cried out for the land, worked to keep traditional materials alive, and collaborated with many people from diverse fields, allowing us to come up with many novel designs while using ramie and other locally and globally-sourced materials and striving toward an unknown but hopeful future. Whether through cultural research, surveys, and written reports; making traditional clothing and contemporary art; or culturally-oriented Indigenous education and innovative economic modes, each effort aims to enable the next generation to carry on and innovate the skills and wisdom our ancestors have left us. May our persistence improve the current state of affairs.

Yuma Taru is an officially recognised keeper of traditional culture in Taiwan who plays a vital role in Taiwan's Indigenous arts field. She was born in the area of L'liung Penux (the Da'an River area, Miaoli County) in the central part of Taiwan. She has dedicated herself to the study, analysis, teaching, and revitalisation of traditional weaving practices of Atayal peoples. Specifically, she transforms the Atayal peoples' philosophies into forms of contemporary art, and incorporates different foreign materials to make Atayal artworks that have extended cultural meanings. In her own words, she is a fibre artist with a strong cultural mission.

Notes

¹ United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, "Circular Economy Crucial for Paris Climate Goals," January 22, 2019, <https://unfccc.int/news/circular-economy-crucial-for-paris-climate-goals>.

² The Taichung County Cultural Centre established the Weave Craft Museum in 1990, which had its name changed to Huludun Cultural Center Weave Craft Museum in 2010. In 2015, the museum's weaving collection was moved to the future site (in Dali District, Taichung) of the Museum of Fiber Arts, which was established in 2018.

<https://zh.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:%E9%A6%96%E9%A1%B5> (accessed September 7, 2022).

³ The Atayal are one of the Austronesian peoples of Taiwan. Mainly inhabiting the east and west sides of Mount Chungyang in northern and central Taiwan, they are the most widely dispersed of all Austronesian peoples in Taiwan. Fang Chun-wei (ed.), *Reappearance of Atayal: Catalogue of the Reproduction of Pan-Atayal Traditional Costumes* (Taitung: National Museum of Prehistory, 2008), 45.

⁴ Taoyuan Indigenous Peoples Development Foundation <https://www.tyipdf.com.tw/?FID=10&CID=370> (accessed September 2, 2022).

⁵ The mall's Chinese name 夢時代 is adopted although it has been slightly modified as the Chinese name of the artwork 築夢時代.

⁶ More information about this installation and its display in the airport can be viewed here:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eG1c6wJg3Is&t=829s&ab_channel=TaoyuanAirport (accessed 2 September 2, 2022).

⁷ In this documentary, the director first portrays the history and culture of the Da'an River as seen through Atayal eyes and then compares it to its current state. As a consequence of human greed in the form of unrestrained tree-felling and the resulting landslides during heavy rains, the riverbed has continually risen since the 1990s. The government dredges it one to three times a year, but that traumatizes this once silvergrass-lush area, seriously disturbing the locals' lives and ability to farm while causing a shortage of water and the topsoil to be washed away. (Interview with director Baunay Watan.)

ZARA STANHOPE

Introduction to “Place and Space”

Abstract

This essay introduces a section of “Grounded in Place: Dialogues between First Nations Artists from Australia, Taiwan, and Aotearoa,” a special issue of Pacific Arts. “Place and Space” includes texts and images by artists Leah King-Smith (Australia), Anchi Lin (Ciwas Tahos, 林安琪) (Taiwan) and Ngahuia Harrison (Aotearoa New Zealand). The contributions of these three practitioners—all involved in lens-based and digital media—speak to loss of sovereignty and ways forward through contemporary art. Their reflections on recent projects prove their practices to be forms of claiming personal and culturally political territory in the face of centuries of exclusion and prejudice in colonial contexts.

Keywords: *First Nations, Australia, Taiwan, Aotearoa New Zealand, Art, photography, digital media, sovereignty, queer*

In the following section of this special issue of *Pacific Arts*, titled “Place and Space,” three practitioners involved in lens-based and digital media—artists Leah King-Smith (Australia), Anchi Lin (Ciwas Tahos, 林安琪) (Taiwan), and Ngahuia Harrison (Aotearoa New Zealand)—discuss their work, speaking to the loss of sovereignty and ways forward through contemporary art. Their reflections on recent projects prove their practices to be forms of claiming personal, cultural, and political territory in the face of centuries of exclusion and prejudice in colonial contexts. First Nations peoples are having to fight for inclusion and legal justice in systems that ignore customary rights. These three essays reinforce how artists have a role to play in righting the exclusion they experience within their multilayered worlds.

King-Smith (Bigambul peoples) offers an evocative experience of being in Aboriginal Country at Quandamooka, Queensland, Australia, through her short photo essay and poem. Her works aim to disrupt Western concepts of physical reality and time. Evoking ideas including the “simultaneous present” in which many times can come together, King-Smith evidences how photo works can create slippages of meaning that offer a place for self-determination.

Anchi Lin (Ciwas Tahos, 林安琪; Atayal peoples) describes her practice as an autobiographical search for the Atayal self. Brought up in Taipei and disconnected from her ancestral land, Lin's practice arises from her hybrid identity as a queer artist who is reconnecting with her ancestry. She examines the forces of cultural displacement and the marginalisation she experiences being non-binary in gender and sexuality. Her work questions how she can reclaim visibility of embodied queerness or philosophically "weave" in an Atayal worldview. Moving into virtual space on the Internet allows her to work in ways that avoid hetero-patriarchal boundaries.

Through her ongoing series *Coastal Cannibals*, Ngahuia Harrison (Ngātiwai and Ngāpuhi) raises awareness of how photography can be a force for change by evidencing customary ways of being and practices that fall outside colonial world views and legislative frames of government. For Harrison these photographs convey that a lack of accountability by government and industry, and a failure to uphold the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori sovereignty, has resulted in the development and destruction of the ancestral coastline.

Dr Zara Stanhope is director of Govett-Brewster Art Gallery (GBAG) / Len Lye Centre, New Plymouth, Aotearoa New Zealand; an adjunct professor at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University, Australia; and an adjunct professor at Auckland University of Technology, Aotearoa New Zealand. A widely published curator and writer, she actively seeks collaborations that foster cultural connections and increase an understanding of who we are across the Global South. She is focused on the strategic direction of GBAG as an active partner under Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) with mana whenu (people of the land) and of deepening experiences of contemporary art from Aotearoa and Te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean). She was the lead curator for Aotearoa New Zealand at the La Biennale di Venezia in 2019.

LEAH KING-SMITH

Evocations: A Visual Song/Poem for Canaipa

Abstract

Evocations is a video work made from photographs taken at the conservation-zoned Turtle Swamp Wetlands on Canaipa (Russell Island) in southern Moreton Bay, Quandamooka Country, Queensland, Australia. The accompanying poem is a written response to the images, and evokes their sense of movement and energy.

Keywords: *First Nations, Country, ancestry, Indigenous poetry, Aboriginal Australian art, sovereignty, photography, digital media*



Figure 1. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 013*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist

Evocations is a video work made from photographs taken at the conservation-zoned Turtle Swamp Wetlands on Canaipa (Russell Island) in southern Moreton Bay, Quandamooka Country, Queensland, Australia. Its images are the result of

moving with the camera and using long shutter speeds to record embodied experiences of being on Aboriginal Country. These pictures blur the ontological boundaries between dreams and physical reality. I wrote the poem below as a written response to the images to evoke their sense of movement and energy. I would like to pay my respects to the Quandamooka people, the traditional custodians of the nation of bay islands where Canaipa is situated. I would like to thank the Indigenous and Canaipa Mudlines communities of artists for the opportunity to meet and play alongside creatives who are passionate about natural coastal environments.

Birthed as natural and human
born of ancestral lineage
with nature, co-creative
land and peoples are one

Birthed as mechanical and chemical
born of Imperialist fathers
rapacious dominant plunderers
man and machine are one

The mechanics of capture
over decades of change
industry engineered
optical laws pervade

Pain and injustice
felt in place, on Country
deep in the earth and in all things
Nature balances, balancing heals

Synergy in motion
rendered by the artist
swaying with the weight
of the device assuaged

Flickers reveal
spatial and natural laws
a rock, a stick, a leaf
wedged in the medium's craw

Change is the constant
cycles embedded deep

Country long time being
unceded Sovereignty

Evocations of place
Not limited by yardstick or mechanisms of measure
energies pulsing in waves
everywhere and everywhen

Leah King-Smith is a Bigambul/Australian visual artist, poet, and academic at Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane. Her focus is particularly driven by change for equity and cultural competence in teaching and learning, as well as the promotion of cultural perspectives in practice-led research. King-Smith has an extensive exhibition career as a photo and digital media artist, and her work is held in numerous gallery collections. She also works with Indigenous and non-Indigenous creatives and communities across a broad range of media forms—such as theatre, dance, and imaging for music—and performs as a singer and musician.

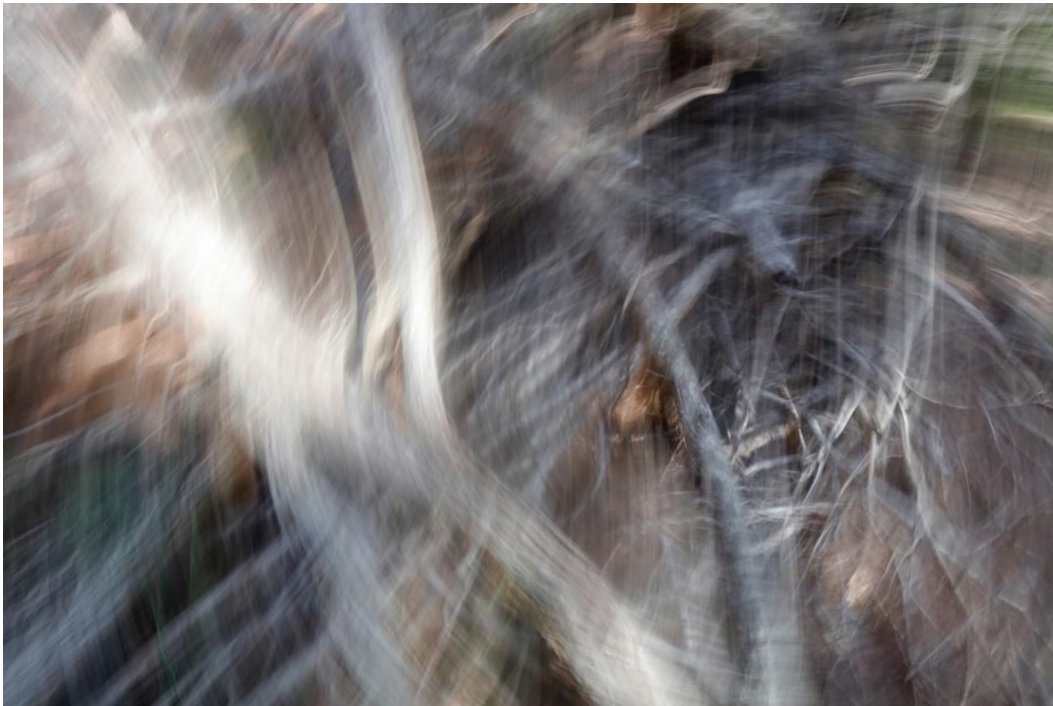


Figure 2. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 002*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 3. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 010*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 4. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 019*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 5. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 020*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 6. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 022*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 7. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 018*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 8. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 012*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 9. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 023*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 10. Leah King-Smith, *Canaipa 050*, 2020. Still photograph from the video *Evocations*, 7:32, 2020. Courtesy of the artist

Anchi Lin (Ciwas Tahos) 林安琪

Seeking Gender Identity in the Contexts of Atayal: An Art Project

Abstract

This paper examines and seeks to challenge fixed ideas relating to identity, gender, and belonging, which I explore in my art practice. Focusing on a central work, Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang, I explore ways that virtual reality—in a video and a website—can be employed to define and engage with my Indigenous and queer identity. This work uses digital video, performance, and cyberspace to reconstruct a sense of place and space that disengages from the traditional gender(ed) norms of what it means to be Atayal. My disconnected urban context prompts me to question what counts as an authentic pathway to reconnect with gaga (Atayal customs and traditional values). The journey of returning to a preconstructed identity needs to be redefined and discussed to embrace a queer sense of belonging. This paper engages with these notions by discussing cyberspace, live performance, and video installation as alternative spaces in which to thread indigeneity, the marginalised body, and queer visibility, and to reclaim screen sovereignty. Three different narratives that feature in my multimedia work—the story of Temahahoi, the story of the brass pots, and a personal story of my quiet queer body—are discussed. Through my work, these narratives engage with storytelling, Atayal worldview, and the Atayal language to re-examine the complexity of identity and the reclaiming of screen space in contemporary times.

Keywords: *new media art, queer, identity, gender, cyberspace, Atayal heritage, Indigenous Taiwanese, First Nations*

Names are important, as they connect you to where you come from. I have two names: Anchi Lin is my Hō-ló Han name, which comes from my patrilineal ancestors who came to Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty Daoguang period (c. 1820–50); and Ciwas Tahos is my Atayal name, which is taken from my matrilineal grandmother’s and great-grandfather’s names. They are my ancestors of Nantou, in central Taiwan—specifically, the Atayal people of the Pngawan group. The Atayal are one of the sixteen recognised Indigenous groups in Taiwan. My Indigenous ancestry remained muted for two generations; my reconnection to my

cultural identity has been a slow and recent awakening undertaken through my art practice.¹

Cultural identity is connected to one's worldview and much of my work explores Atayal worldviews. In particular, I draw upon the Atayal idea of *gaga*, which means traditional customs and values—a way of life and worldview that our Atayal people embody. For example, to be considered a mature Atayal woman, it is said that you must know how to plant, gather, and process traditional materials and know how to weave—all of which embody *gaga*. According to Apang Bway, who is teaching me the Atayal dialect of Squiliq, there is an old Squiliq saying, “*ta kinbetunux cinunan na utux qu kneril qani*,” which means “a girl who knows how to weave is better in looking.”² This saying suggests that the practice of weaving is a gendered role suited to girls who will become women. However, Apang Bway explained to me that the word *tnunan* (weave) can also be interpreted as the process and product of weaving, meaning the way that each fine thread is combined with the ones around it to produce a beautiful fabric; thus, the community or tribe metaphorically weaves its individual members together with unity, sustainability, and sharing in mind.³ In this philosophical interpretation, the concept of “weaving” is not gender-specific; rather, it is a way of being with one's surroundings. This gender-neutral interpretation raises the question: What counts as an authentic pathway to reconnect with Atayal traditional customs and values with *gaga*? Perhaps there is no certain answer.



Figure 1. Anchi Lin, *Perhaps She Comes From/To ___ Along*, 2022. Dual-channel video installation, Tainan Art Museum, Tainan, Taiwan, September 8, 2022–January 23, 2023. Courtesy of the artist and Tainan Art Museum

Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang is an ongoing work of mine that offers insight into my personal experience of gender identity and Indigenous belonging in an urban context. In the PIngawan dialect of the Atayal language, the dialect of my ancestors, the word *alang* (or *qalang*) means “community” or “tribe.” The work’s title suggests an uncertainty and questioning, and reflects the ambiguity I feel in terms of my sense of belonging and where I come from—for example, my urban upbringing has disconnected my body from my ancestral land. My intention is to use this project as a pathway to uncover that long-lost space and place, and to reconstruct my hybrid identity. I am carrying out this project through various new media approaches presented primarily in an installation. The larger work consists of the installation’s videos, with a voiceover in the Atayal Squaliq dialect and a virtual 3D landscape (Fig. 1); a live performance; and cyberspace. In this project, I consider how I can embody our Atayal *gaga* in a future setting with contemporary tools and envision a new way of expressing *gaga* through video installation and performance.

The concept for *Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang* grew from my interest in the stories I have heard while learning the Atayal language, a journey that I have been on for two years. The work explores and interweaves three narratives related to *gaga* through video, performance, and cyberspace. In the videos, I create a narrative—presented through moving images and spoken words—stemming from three different stories: the story of Temahahoi, the story of the brass pots, and the story of my queer body. The three stories are interconnected by their marginalized sensibility and inform a new story—my video work—which examines issues of displacement, identity, and gender.

The installation of *Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang* has two video projections set side by side.⁴ The left screen shows my body lying on the floor in a curled-up position similar to the Atayal traditional burial posture (Fig. 2). With my body facing west and my right hand holding a honey stick, I repeatedly drizzle honey back and forth across my body as well as into a steaming brass pot placed on top of a lit stove. The projection on the right is a virtual landscape.⁵ Its changing images include billboards about a bee-cloning project, a mining company, and a missing Elder woman who is my grandmother that I barely know. Other images include rocks, a traditional Atayal necklace, and maple trees—common in my ancestral land—seen in the four seasons. The different views of the trees indicate that there is no specific time or season in this space.



Figure 2. Anchi Lin, video still from *Perhaps She Comes From/To ___ Alang*, 2022. Courtesy of the artist

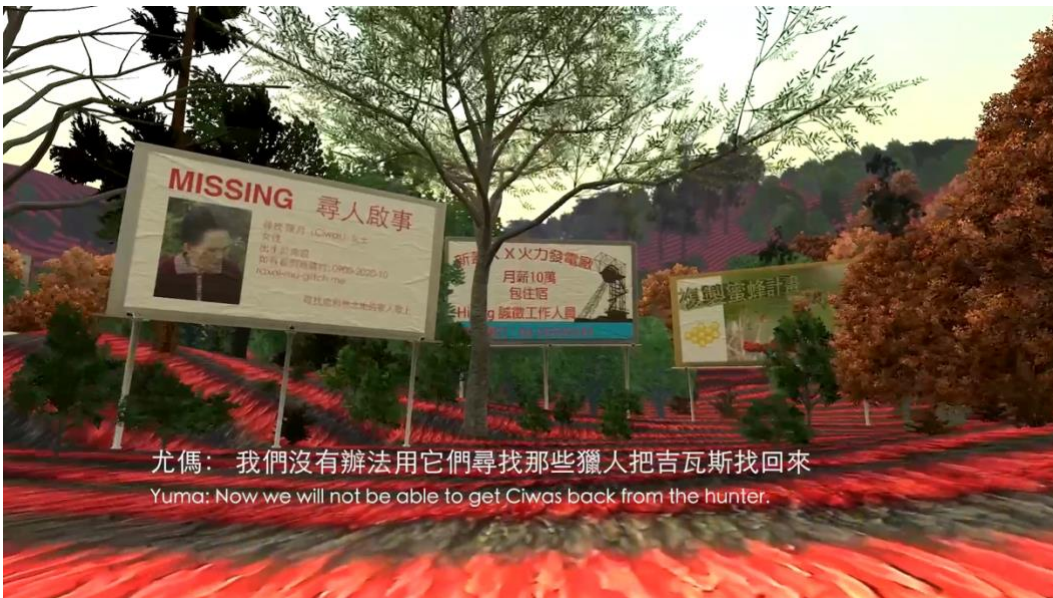


Figure 3. Anchi Lin, video still from *Perhaps She Comes From/To ___ Alang*, 2022. Courtesy of the artist

It was important for me to incorporate the worldview of *gaga* into this work. The Squliq saying “*cinnunan ni utux kayal qu rhzyal*” means “the land is woven by spirits of the land,” which may be understood in philosophical, personal, and cultural terms.⁶ The terrain in the virtual landscape recreates my vague memories of my ancestral land in Nantou (Fig. 3). I made it by projecting the image

of a piece of woven fabric that I created during a one-day workshop using the bow-harp technique (Fig. 4). The red dye in the fabric is traditionally extracted from the *shoulang* yam often found in the high-altitude mountainous areas in Taiwan. Once scanned, this tiny piece of fabric extended the idea of the “woven land” and became the texture of the terrain in the virtual landscape.



Figure 4. Sample of material woven by the artist then scanned and inserted into the virtual space as the land for *Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang*, 2020. Courtesy of the artist

The Story of Temahahoi

The first story woven into my project is about a place called Temahahoi where only women live.⁷ I have encountered this story multiple times, through verbal tellings by Elders and in books of Atayal stories. The versions of the story vary, but the gender(ed) aspect is consistent. The following version resonated with me the most and, subsequently, became the inspiration for the virtual land in *Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang*.

Because only women live in Temahahoi, if a woman wished to become impregnated, she would need to lie on a rock with her legs spread wide in order to allow the breeze to blow into her. Thus, the wind would bring life. Additionally, the women in Temahahoi did not get hungry and could stay alive by inhaling steam and smoke. These women were said to have the ability to communicate with bees, whereby they could control bees' behaviour and manoeuvre them at their will. Hunters living outside Temahahoi greatly desired to capture the Temahahoi women. One day, a hunter was walking through the forest with his dog. In his attempt to find the dog after it went out of view, the hunter accidentally entered Temahahoi territory. Suddenly, he was surrounded by a swarm of bees. They

overwhelmed him, and he couldn't escape. The Temahahoi women captured the hunter, cut off his male organ, and put it on a stick to lay out to dry. As the male organ dried and hardened, it became a tool of pleasure for the women of Temahahoi.⁸

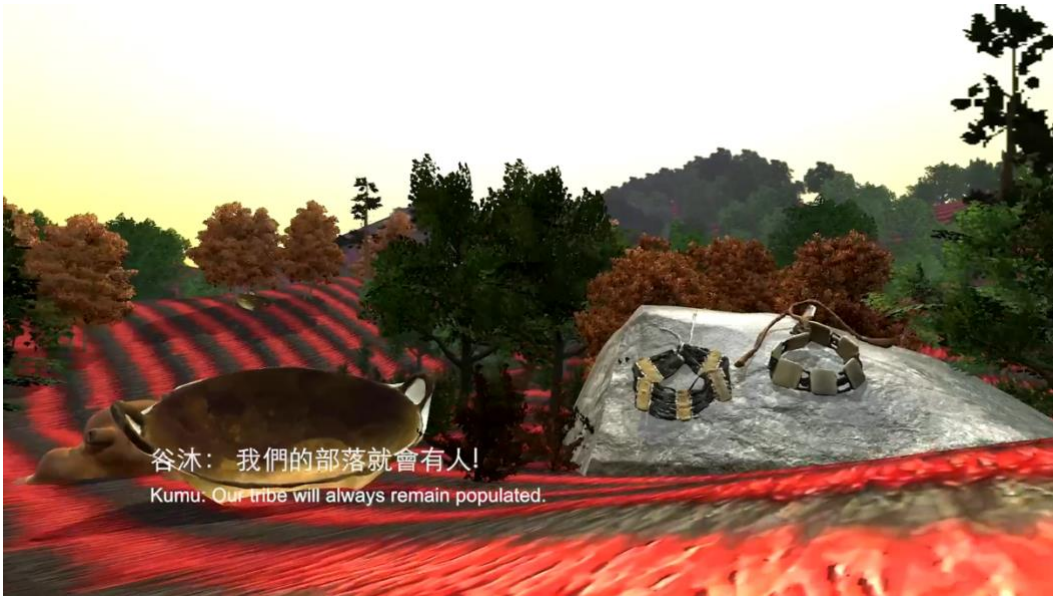


Figure 5. Anchi Lin, video still from *Perhaps She Comes From/To ___ Alang*, 2022. Courtesy of the artist

Temahahoi is not just a story, it becomes the past, the present, and the future. For example, the voices of two Temahahoi women, who are not seen, are heard through a voice-over in the video expressing concern that the bees that give them strength have disappeared; they fear they will weaken without them. This situation in the story mirrors the importance of bees in our natural ecology and the gravity of the escalating climate crisis. Because the Temahahoi women are part of nature, intertwined with the bees and the natural ecosystem, they are also threatened. A further threat appears in the video: at the end of the conversation between the two women, it is revealed that the brass pot they have been cooking with daily, given to them by an unknown coloniser, has been slowly poisoning them. This relates to the story of the brass pots told below. These underlying threats to Indigenous culture are depicted in the videos through dialogue and in visual references, including the burial-like position of the body in the lefthand video, and two Atayal traditional necklaces floating above the rock on the

righthand video, which symbolise the absence of—and endangerment of—the Temahahoi and Atayal people (Fig. 5).

The Story of the Brass Pots

The second narrative that this project derives from is a story told by Elders who live in qalang Cinsbu (Hsinchu, Taiwan). According to these Elders, many Atayal people in the region were poisoned by heavy metals found in brass pots given to the tribe by Japanese colonisers. The brass pots released toxins into food when used over high heat and, consequently, many people became infertile. Some consider the colonisers' gifts of brass pots—a gesture with the pretence of kindness, as the pots were considered valuable and useful cooking tools—to be a tactic used to weaken the Atayal people's defence.

This story remains largely unknown and unmentioned in contemporary society. For me, this forgotten or hidden history brings up personal connections to queer history and bodies. Both are silenced and hidden by the heteronormativity that permeates society, and this parallels the silencing of Indigenous history by colonial dominance. The story of the brass pot is both a product of colonisation and part of a largely unknown history due to colonial suppression. In the virtual reality video, two Temahahoi women confess their concern over their inability to become impregnated by the wind anymore. One mentions air pollution coming from the lower mainland as a possible cause, and the other mentions a thread she touched that numbed her. This “thread” refers to a hidden, high-voltage, barbed-wire system called “Frontier Defence Lines” that Japanese colonisers used to prevent attacks from the Indigenous people in the Taiwanese mountains. This barrier also allowed the colonisers to extract natural resources from Taiwan such as camphor trees, which were in high demand for use as weapons and plastics. The conversation between the Temahahoi women about their fertility ends with them saying, “Let's use the brass pot the foreigners gifted us to cook.” This reinforces the brass pot as the reason the women of Temahahoi are infertile.

The Story of My Queer Body

The third narrative in this project regards my queer body, a quiet body. It is seen in the lefthand video in a conversation between two women in which they discuss

how their friend Ciwas (embodying both my grandmother and me) was captured by a hunter. The kidnapping and disappearance of Ciwas is a metaphor for my queer body's experience in today's heteropatriarchal society (i.e., a society that is unfavourable to queer people), and how one's experience shifts according to place and space. In the lefthand video, the curled-up naked body avoids any gaze while performing a moment in the story of Temahahoi in which the women inhale steam to sustain their lives. This reconstructed Temahahoi space is performative and offers a sense of belonging for queer bodies by renegotiating the embodiment of *gaga*. My reimagining of Temahahoi in a virtual setting offers a place for queer-identifying individuals to come together in cyberspace. This ongoing project embeds a sense of *gaga* that renegotiates the binary gender roles of *gaga* to be more inclusive and accepting of queer individuals.

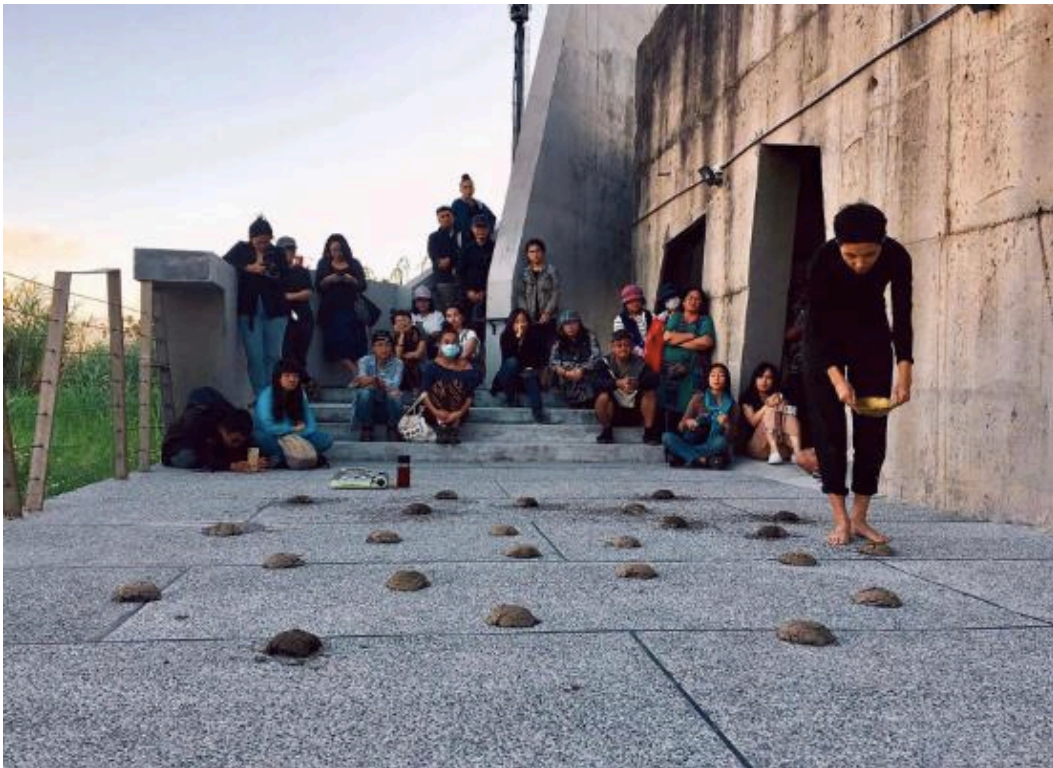


Figure 6. Anchi Lin, live performance as an extension of *Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang*, Laboratory Experimental Platform, 2020 Pulima Art Festival, Taitung, Taiwan, November 1, 2020. Courtesy of Iris Lin

During the 2020 Pulima Art Festival, I did a live performance in response to the video component of *Perhaps She Comes From/To __ Alang* (Fig. 6). This

performance was at the Taitung Laboratory Experiment platform, situated beside the Pacific Ocean on the south-east coast of Taiwan. During the performance, a constant wind from the ocean blew over my body, connecting me to the surrounding landscape and allowing me to reconnect to the story of Temahahoi. The live performance used the same brass pot and stove as are featured in the video. I used the brass pot to mould multiple piles of clay from the region. I placed each pile of clay on the ground and dripped honey on it. This dripping gesture reflects both the act of planting and a small burial, connecting to both life that the land provides and the death of the bees in our world today.

Cyberspace

The final part of this project is an interactive online space (<https://raxal-mu.glitch.me>) created in response to my desire to have a specific *alang* (community) and to connect to my ancestral land.⁹ For example, a web domain address serves as my personal land location pin to feel a “sense of place”; it becomes a “cultural landscape,” and a place not dominated by heteronormativity. “Glitch.me,” the name of the platform, also fits my floating, non-conforming context and permits my queer body a place where my imagined land is purposely glitched. This webspace is a hybrid space that will constantly build content related to social and environmental issues, stories, our knowledge, and future plans to document queer experiences. Its visuals echo those in the videos in *Perhaps She Comes From/To ___ Alang*. There are no boundaries, so the space can expand and generate new types of landscapes as my cultural knowledge expands.

Conclusion

The work described in this article is an ongoing art project. By proposing a virtual space of connection, the digital land I built reflects on the loss of Indigenous land in Taiwan and the disconnection to ancestral lands that many communities face. It also proposes a gesture to create a space for a (digital) land of which I desire to reclaim digital sovereignty. However, because Internet spaces are fraught with the possibility of connections beyond geographic limitation, going forth, I will be cognisant of the corporate, capitalist control of internet data and embrace decentralised open-source possibilities for learning coding and ways of securing data of Indigenous knowledge. In the future, I intend to have an alternative way

to connect with *gaga* by weaving in digital imageries and computing language, such as coding, to secure a space and a place in the digital terrain, and, most importantly, to reclaim screen and data sovereignty for marginalized communities such as Indigenous and queer communities in the age of the Internet.

Anchi Lin (Ciwás Tahos) 林安琪 is a performance and new media artist of Taiwanese Hō-ló and Indigenous Atayal heritage based in Taipei, Taiwan. Lin completed a bachelor of fine arts in visual art at Simon Fraser University in Canada and is currently pursuing a master of fine art in new media art at Taipei National University of the Arts (TNUA) in Taiwan. Through her artistic practice, Lin seeks out forms of understanding beyond the hegemonic worldview through the use of video, performance, cyberspace, and installation. Lin won First Prize in the 2021 Taipei National University of the Arts (TNUA) Genie Lab Art Competition, a 2021 TNUA postgraduate scholarship, and the Merit Award at the 2021 TNUA Contemporary Art Prize. Her other recent work includes Pswagi Temahahoi project with Suaveart in Documenta 15, 2022 and The Land in the Middle of the Pond, commissioned by the Green Island Human Rights Art Festival, 2021.

Notes

¹ My reconnection to my Indigenous identity began during my time spent studying in Canada and when I worked at an art gallery specialising in Northwest Coast First Nations art in Vancouver.

² Apang Bway, text message to the author, October 2, 2021.

³ Bway, 2021.

⁴ This work was shown in *Real People Series: Action Intuition*, curated by Akac Orat, at the 2020 Pulima Art Festival, Taitung, Taiwan, October 31–November 28, 2020; and at the *2021 Asian Art Biennial: Phantasmapolis*.

⁵ It was created using Unity software, which is software used to create 3D virtual reality (VR) and gaming space.

⁶ Apang Bway, text message to the author, October 27, 2021.

⁷ The word Temahahoi can be broken down to “*te*” (a locative), “*maha*” (“if” or “quote”) and “*hoi*,” which some of our people believe is the ancient pronunciation for the word “*hlahuy*” meaning “deep forest.”

⁸ This is the conclusion of this version the story. Other versions say that other hunters retaliated and killed all the Temahahoi women and, therefore, Temahahoi doesn’t exist anymore.

⁹ *Raxal mu* means “my land” in Atayal PIngawan dialect language. This website was built with coding language HTML and A-frame through self-taught, open-source means.

NGĀHUIA HARRISON

Coastal Cannibals: Industry and Occupation on Whangārei Te Rerenga Paraoa

Abstract

Coastal Cannibals is a photographic series exploring the impacts, contradictions, and possibilities of “development” within Whangārei Te Rerenga Paraoa (Whangārei Harbour). Located on New Zealand’s northeastern coast, Whangārei Harbour is a site of significant cultural, ecological, and historical significance for the different iwi (tribes) and hapū (subtribes) who have resided—and continue to reside—there. For these tribes, maintaining unbroken occupation has not been straightforward; the harbour is a contested and still-consumed space. Iwi and hapū contend with heavy industry, residential developments, and regional policies that both disregard tribal authority and disrupt kaitiakitanga (guardianship relations). Coastal Cannibals focuses on the harbour’s shoreline developments, where industry is both a source of tension for iwi and hapū, as it places huge pressures on the ocean and surrounding environs, and of necessary jobs and income for a historically underserved region. For those committed to Indigeneity, occupation is never a straightforward affair. In the postcolonial tradition of “speaking back,” the photo series draws its title from a description used against the great Ngātiwai rangatira Paratene Te Manu prior to his and his tribe’s eviction from the nearby Te Hauturu-o-Toi (Little Barrier Island), asking us today: who is eating away at what?

Keywords: *Aotearoa, harbours, kaitiakitanga, Māori land rights, Indigenous art, image sovereignty, photography, First Nations*

This essay looks at a body of work titled *Coastal Cannibals*, a lens-based project I developed during my doctoral research. As a series of photographs and video works, it explores the histories, tensions, and relationships that *mana whenua* (local Indigenous authorities) experience with industry surrounding Whangārei Te Rerenga Paraoa (meaning “Whangārei Gathering Place of Whales and Chiefs”), commonly known as Whangārei Harbour, in Aotearoa New Zealand. The industries there include the Marsden Point Oil Refinery, the Northport commercial sea port, Reotahi Freezing Works, and Portland Cement.



Figure 1. Ngāhuia Harrison, *First Cinema Camera 8*, 2021. Photograph, 445.5 x 297 mm. Courtesy of the artist

My intention for *Coastal Cannibals* is to show that *mana whenua* (local authority, authority of land through occupation) survive amongst industry—surviving despite the industrial imperialism and, perhaps, due to the creation of jobs in a historically underserved area. In the image *First Cinema Camera 8* (Fig. 1) we see the fluctuating, ever-present mountain of wood chips beside Northport’s timber yard. The cranes that move logs and the machinery that turns them to wood chips, both seen in the photo, are just two elements that *mana whenua* contend with along the shoreline of their once-clean harbour. The port, under different names and in previous iterations, has also provided work to locals, including *mana whenua*.

I draw the series’s title *Coastal Cannibals* from writing by colonialist James Cowan about Ngātiwai chief Paratene Te Manu (c. 1807–1897). In 1894, Cowan met Paratene on the Ngātiwai island of Hauturu-o-Toi (Little Barrier Island). In two articles published in *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, Cowan described Paratene as a “still vigorous specimen of the cannibal canoe-men”¹ and “a wonderful ancient relic of the cannibal days.”² By using the word “cannibal,” Cowan communicated a description that proved Māori savagery to European settlers and,

therefore, legitimised the act of colonisation, especially through the introduction of Christianity. The same year, Ngātiwai were evicted by the *Little Barrier Island Act of 1894*, which removed the tribe from the island for the British Crown to take Hauturu-o-Toi as part of the conservation estate.

The Martinican poet Aimé Césaire considered the effects of colonisation on the coloniser rather than the colonised, writing that it was the coloniser rather than the native who was “decivilised” by the colonisation process, which diminished the humanity of its enforcers. He describes the effect as a “gangrene” that has set into the coloniser’s body as they “proceed toward savagery.”³ Half a century later, American theorist Nancy Fraser coined the term “cannibal capitalism” to describe capitalism as eating away at the conditions it relies on for survival.⁴ Fraser points out that the success of capitalism is due to the exploitation of the environment and marginalised groups. I have used these ideas of cannibalisation as a starting point, asking, in the case of Whangārei Te Rerenga Paraoa, who is eating away at what?

Enclosure Through Legislation

The Oyster Fisheries Act of 1866 was the first statutory regulation on a fishery in New Zealand. It regulated Māori oyster interests to non-commercial pursuits, despite evidence demonstrating the extent of Māori trade in fish and shellfish at the time. For example, in 1857, Charles Hursthouse reported on Māori trade: “In three months, in 1853, there visited Auckland alone . . . 442 canoes, navigated by 1592 men and 590 women bringing produce to the value of nearly £4000.” Hursthouse calculated that these trades included “18 kits” of oysters and over five tonnes of fish.⁵

The enclosure or limitation of Māori economic opportunity continued through the *Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act of 1992*, which simultaneously “settled” and hamstrung Māori fishery interests. Under the act, *iwi* (tribes) entities, or *rūnanga* (tribal authorities), favoured establishing asset-holding companies to receive quotas and monies. The restrictions set out in this act devastated cottage-industry fisheries in New Zealand’s Northland, most of which were operated by Māori who could not compete against more prominent entities, tribal or otherwise, in the quota management system.⁶

The *Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011* (MACA 2011) replaced controversial 2004 legislation called the *Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004* (FSA 2004). The *FSA 2004* had severed Māori proprietary rights in marine areas,

claiming them as Crown-owned. The late scholar Moana Jackson recognised that the same inequities existed in the newer *MACA 2011*, though they were concealed in different language. While *MACA 2011* created opportunities for Māori to prove “customary” rights and marine titles, the Crown determines these definitions, which obliges Māori to redefine ourselves within the limited scope of Crown legislation.

Those most affected by the controls placed upon fisheries have been *whanau* (family) and *haukainga* (home people), who are permitted “customary fishing,” defined as nonfinancial harvesting for *hui* (gathering) or *tangi* (funeral).⁷ *MACA 2011* continues the marginalisation of Māori interests begun by the previous laws, foreclosing perceived or potential economic benefits for Māori. These global controls of Indigenous resources use different methods, yet each has operated for the shared goal of creating the conditions of scarcity that break Indigenous ways of being. As Karl Polanyi writes,

Whether the colonist needs land as a site for the sake of the wealth buried in it or whether he merely wishes to constrain the native to produce a surplus of food and raw materials, is often irrelevant; nor does it make much difference whether the native works under the direct supervision of the colonist or only under some form of indirect compulsion, for in every and any case, the social and cultural system of native life must be shattered.⁸



Figure 2. Ngāhuia Harrison, *First Cinema Camera 7*, 2021. Photograph, 445.50 x 297 mm. Courtesy of the artist

Māori are frozen in the realm of “noble savage,” fixed at the Crown-appointed date of 1840, the year Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed between *rangatira* (chiefs) and Queen Victoria. To prove a “customary practice” under *MACA 2011*, Māori must show they have enacted the practice in line with *tikanga* (tribal protocol) since 1840. Meanwhile, the Crown can today capitalise on ocean resources and marine areas utilising modern technology that was not available in 1840 and in ways that Māori have been legislatively blocked since the *Oyster Fisheries Act of 1866*. *First Cinema Camera 7* (Fig. 2) shows an example of these modern technologies in the form of oil storage tanks that line the beach, creating a new horizon line at the mouth of the Whangārei Harbour.



Figure 3. Ngāhuia Harrison, *E rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa*, 2022. Photograph, 1502 x 474 mm. Courtesy of the artist

Industry Surrounding the Whangārei Harbour

Over the last century, industrial development has irrevocably changed Whangārei Harbour. The first cement works were built on Matakohe (Limestone Island) in 1894, the same year that Paratene was evicted from Hauturu-o-Toi. Portland Cement produced the first cement in New Zealand there using coal extracted from nearby Te Kamo and Hikurangi. Later known as Golden Bay Cement, the company moved from the island to the harbour shores in 1918 due to a decreasing limestone supply. In the triptych *E rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa* (Fig. 3), I emphasise how the landscape is being worked against itself for the purpose of extraction, joining the pipelines of the Golden Bay Cement company so they flow together as if a river by inverting images and placing them together. The work’s title comes from a well-known Whanganui *pepeha* (proverb, saying): *E rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa. Ko au te*

awa ko te awa ko au (The river flows from the mountains to the sea. I am the river, and the river is me).⁹

In a landmark international case, the Whanganui River was granted personhood in 2017, becoming the first waterway internationally to achieve special legal status. As the triptych's images invert the landscape by stitching together a reversed photograph to create the seamless pipeline, so too is the *pepeha* upended, to consider the genuineness of legislative promises such as legal personhood. A recent concept in Western thought, taken from Indigenous ontology, considers the efficacy or life-force of nonhuman beings. However, even with these legal rights, inadequate challenge has been mounted against the unbridled appetite of global capitalism, which continues to extract and exploit our environments—whether legally recognised or not. Certainly, the use of Indigenous knowledge systems is the latest form of extraction of native resources; activists Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies consider the use of non-Western thought as the “spiritual icing on top of the material cake of the West.”¹⁰



Figure 4. Ngāhuia Harrison, *Beyond Ruin*, 2022. Video stills showing the Reotahi Freezing Works remains; a fire destroyed it in 1921. Courtesy of the artist

In 1911, the Reotahi Freezing Works was built at the mouth of Whangārei Harbour. At its peak, it slaughtered six hundred sheep and fifty bullocks daily. The video work *Beyond Ruin* (Fig. 4) presents the skeletal remains of the industrial slaughterhouses. Now a marine reserve, the freezing works sit on land assumed by the Northland Harbour Board and given to early settler Alfred Bevins, a previously bankrupted entrepreneur. The freezing works burnt down in 1921, but the 1920s saw more development with the creation of the harbour's first seaport, Port Whangārei. First situated in the upper harbour, Port Whangārei moved to the mouth in the 1960s. Renamed Northport, it sits opposite the ruins of the Reotahi Freezing Works.

In the 1970s, a horse called Think Big won consecutive Melbourne Cup Races. At the 1977 National Party Conference, Minister of Racing Allan Highet used the winning thoroughbred's name to describe the government's energy expansion plans. Prime Minister Robert Muldoon's "Think Big" industrial projects included the Marsden Point Oil Refinery, whose expansion was approved in 1981. The refinery was a significant project that employed five thousand people.

First Cinema Camera 3 (Fig. 5) follows the same logic as *E rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa*; the image has been flipped to create an adjacent structure out of the oil refinery's dock. Oil ships dock here to pump out crude oil that is refined at the Whangārei Harbour site. From there, a pipeline travels 321 kilometres to Auckland, where a large portion of the oil is used at the domestic and international airports. A bizarre cycle of capitalism trumps the harbour's natural life cycles, such as the *pīpī* beds, which are nearing extinction in the harbour.



Figure 5. Ngāhuia Harrison, *First Cinema Camera 3*, 2021. Photograph, 475.50 x 317 mm. Courtesy of the artist

***Kaitiaki* Does Not Equal Stakeholder**

My research is part of a larger project called *Listening to the Voices of Our Harbours* (hereafter referred to as "Three Harbours Project") conducted by the James Henare Māori Research Centre. The Three Harbours Project investigates flax-roots *kaitiakitanga* (a term I will define shortly) in three North Island harbours: Kāwhia Harbour, Manukau Harbour, and Whangārei Harbour.¹¹ Incorporated into the Resource Management Act of 1992, *kaitiakitanga* is commonly understood in New Zealand as stewardship focusing on protecting the natural environment.¹² The Three Harbours Project team builds on the work of

Dame Ngāneko Minhinnick, Carmen Kirkwood, Reverend Māori Marsden, Dr Merata Kawharu, and others, who have described a more accurate understanding of the concept of *kaitiakitanga* than the Resource Management Act illustrates.¹³ As Dr Kawharu advises, in “any analysis of *kaitiakitanga* in legal or political contexts, first of all, it is necessary to consider its original meanings as well as the rights and responsibilities of those who customarily apply the principle.”¹⁴

Kaitiakitanga is an entangled concept that relies upon *whakapapa* (genealogical connection) to a particular place. Kirkwood writes, “everybody on this planet has a role to play as guardian. But if you use the word *kaitiaki*,¹⁵ that person must be Māori because of the depth and meaning of the word and the responsibilities that go with it.”¹⁶ *Kaitiakitanga* denotes dwelling in or having intimate knowledge of a place, which is why the Three Harbours Project pays attention to the flax-roots voices, the *haukainga* (home people) voices. Because of *whakapapa*, *haukainga* occupy these harbours, just as their ancestors did. Like their ancestors, they are dealing with the everyday realities of these sites.



Figure 6. Ngāhuia Harrison, *Points North*, 2021. Photograph. 420 x 594 mm. Courtesy of the artist

In *Points North* (Fig. 6), we see the Northland Harbour Board's propaganda magazine *Points North*. The Northland Harbour Board has a dubious history of land theft in the Whangārei Harbour. On the left, the volcanic peaks of our *tupuna maunga* (ancestral mountain) Manaia can be seen above the Northport site. The phrase "Deep Water" appears below. The Whangārei Harbour site was initially chosen by Northport for its depth. Today, the amount of dredging required to maintain the depth necessary for shipping is ruining the seabed. The objective of this image, as with other images in the body of work *Coastal Cannibals*, is to speak to continuous occupation through the presence of Manaia. All Manaia's descendants are the *kaitiaki* of the harbour due to the *whakapapa* we share through this descent line. As with the Whanganui River to the Whanganui Tribes, this significant mountain is evidence of our belonging.

Daily realities often misalign with Crown definitions or legislation that tell the Māori who and how to be. The ancestral connections Māori maintain through *whakapapa* ensure that we preserve our long memory and responsibility of place and people. This *whakapapa* catalyses *kaitiakitanga*. However, our memories now connect to the industry surrounding Whangārei Harbour. These industries provided jobs for disenfranchised Māori while also being a destructive force to the environment. They are memorials to the deliberate exclusion of Māori from economic opportunity beyond becoming factory fodder, as well as to land loss experienced by the Māori.

Looking Through Our Lens

Crown definitions of customary marine practice designate Māori to the caricature of the "noble savage" who live or at least should live in harmony with ancestral lands as they have since 1840. This stereotype excludes Māori from the economic growth created from ancestral lands as was seen in aforementioned Oyster Fisheries Act 1866, and ignores the realities of having to work for companies destroying one's lands and waters, while the same economic potential has been afforded to Pākehā through racist legislation and land theft.

American photographer Allan Sekula committed to presenting the "everyday" of harbour life. In writing about Sekula's work, Laleh Khalili notes that he "had a way of foretelling futures, not because he had a utopian or dystopian vision of what was to come, but because he was so alive to the quotidian realities of the every day."¹⁷ *Coastal Cannibals* began with interviewing those living in long-

occupied *kainga* (homes), where the Crown continues to define relationships to land, natural resources, and neighbouring *whanaunga* (relations). A *Whaea* (aunty, term of respect) Mere Kepa who lives on the harbour, when I asked if she felt any difference between the land and sea—if perhaps one area was more significant—answered an emphatic “no.” “It is no different,” she continued. “You just go down the hill and into the sea. They’re the same. Only you can get different *kai* (food) from each area, and one’s covered in water, which will soon be covering the other!”¹⁸

Whaea Mere emailed me her photographs documenting the different colours and thickness of smog hanging above the industry in front of her ancestral home. Walking hills in her *kainga* each morning with her dog, Aroha, she observes the harbour air. Walking her land to watch, and document, the pollution that hangs thick in the sky—as much a part of her home as the ocean below it and the people in-between. Documenting the constant pollution is part of the “quotidian reality” of being Indigenous in the provincial places that industries are pushed out to and established. Vandana Shiva writes that the impacts of industry upon one’s lands and waters, “are the struggles of people taking place in the ruins wrought by development to regain a sense of selfhood and control over their destinies.”¹⁹

Image sovereignty—the use of the image to self-determine—is an essential tool of resistance. The Crown’s attempts at defining Māori identity and restricting the potential of Māori economic activity make it essential to present the reality of the environments that harbour tribes occupy. Ngāti Apa filmmaker Barry Barclay has demonstrated the importance of claiming our image, of image sovereignty. Though not the first to use the phrase “Fourth Cinema,” meaning Indigenous cinema, Barclay is best known for his explanation of the term. He described the metaphoric First Cinema camera as the one on the ship’s deck or an objective outsider, while the Fourth Cinema camera is inside, an ally lens, on the shore in the hands of those for “whom ashore is their ancestral home.”²⁰

Native North American artist Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie has written about the importance of visual sovereignty and making an ally of the lens.²¹ Self-representation and definition for Indigenous artists involves making the camera a friend rather than a weapon to resist tropes such as the “hapless native” or “noble savage.”²² The camera-as-weapon reflects the historical use of the image to restrict who Indigenous peoples are and what Indigenous people do. Tsinhnahjinnie emphasises the importance of multi-layered images in the statements made by the work and the analysis made of them.

Ngāti Porou artist and scholar Natalie Robertson enriches the Fourth Cinema methodology through her more recent idea of a “whakapapa lens.”²³

Continuing Barclay's conversation, Robertson challenges the binary of the Fourth Cinema camera, which splits people into being either on the shore (Indigenous) or on the ship (settler). In contrast, thinking through a *whakapapa* lens incorporates relationality and connectivity—what Reverend Māori Marsden calls the “woven universe”—to allow for the complexity, contradictions, and diversity of entangled peoples living and working in place.²⁴

My initial access to this project is *whakapapa* to the harbour: to Manaia, our *tupuna maunga* (ancestral mountain) standing at the harbour mouth. Manaia connects me to various natural formations as well as to the *hapū* and *iwi* who occupy the harbour. My family also have *whakapapa* to the harbour industries, particularly Northport and the Marsden Point Oil Refinery. Granddad, a welder, worked building the Refinery's first chimneys in the 1960s. In the 1980s, my dad and uncles worked at “The Point,” as it was called, and they dismantled the chimneys my granddad built. My cousins worked on the subsequent construction of new chimneys. A *whakapapa* lens provides a way to acknowledge positionality through my family's entanglement with this place. It also disrupts notions of being an objective observer and of binaries: in or out, shore or ship, noble savage or stevedore (port-sider, longshoreman).

In the photographs titled *First Cinema Camera*, part of the *Coastal Cannibals* body of work, the “First Cinema camera” is in my hands; I am a person traditionally placed on the shore. In these works, I shoot an industrial horizon. The aforementioned *First Cinema Camera 8* (Fig. 1) shows a woodchip pile at Northport, where my *whanau* worked as stevedores. Their work put food on their tables, but I was also shooting on the ocean above beds of now-extinct shellfish, ones that had been traditionally harvested by our ancestors—a “customary practice.” Under MACA 2011, only the latter can be claimed as a customary practice under the law.

By complicating the binary of First Cinema camera and Fourth Cinema camera, my work reveals the contradictions that Indigenous people live with—contradictions not of our own making. *Pātaka Kai* (Fig. 7) presents a bed of Pacific oysters, a shellfish that colonised the harbour seabed in the 1950s after travelling on the hulls of container ships from overseas into the harbour. Although these oysters are harvested by *mana whenua*, a recent arrival would not be customary food by the Crown. In the diptych they are presented with refinery tanks, a new *pātaka* or storehouse for oil. This relationship shows the duplicity of citizenship in New Zealand; the Crown allows cultural and material development for non-Māori, whilst Māori are relegated to customary practices and natural resources set at 1840.



Figure 7. Ngāhuia Harrison, *Pātaka Kai*, 2018. Photograph, 110 x 80 mm. Courtesy of the artist



Figure 8. Ngāhuia Harrison, *Ka Mua, Ka Muri*, 2021. Photograph, 1498.50 x 1180 mm. The image shows a failed residential development neighbouring the *kainga* of *iwi* Patuharakeke. Courtesy of the artist

In 2017, Winston Peters, leader of the political party New Zealand First and Patuharakeke, Ngātiwai tribal member, said of the proposed plan to move Auckland’s port to Whangārei, “Aucklanders want their harbour back while Northlanders want the jobs.”²⁵ Five years on, the conversation to move the port and expand Northport are ongoing.²⁶ Allan Sekula foretold the debates surrounding harbour frontage in his book *Fish Story*: “Harbours are now less havens . . . than accelerated turning-basins for supertankers and container ships. The old harbour front, its links to a common culture shattered by un-employment, is now reclaimed for a bourgeois reverie on the mercantilist past.”²⁷ *Ka Mua, Ka Muri* (Fig. 8), a photograph taken in the residential area of Marsden Cove and the unrealised Marsden City development, demonstrates the tensions Sekula describes in his harbour study.



Figure 9. Ngāhuia Harrison, *Tauranga Waka*, 2021. Photograph, 1498.50 x 1180 mm. Courtesy of the artist

Looking at a horizon that will one day be submerged under a rising ocean, the desire to live in an ocean paradise is balanced against the capitalist values of

extractive industry and “progress.” Developments sprawl across the land behind Northport and the oil refinery. These sub-divisions have been built in response to Whangārei’s rapidly growing population, which is predicted to increase 45% by 2051.²⁸ In the photographs *Tauranga Waka* (Fig. 9) and *Coastal Cannibals* (Fig. 10), the viewer can observe how *waitai* (ocean, tidal water) is re-routed through residential developments in Ruākākā, on the southern side of the Whangārei Harbour. In the latter photograph, the tips of oil refinery chimneys are visible behind the row of houses. Suburban developments are another sign of “progress” that *mana whenua* contend with, especially in desirable coastal areas. As Sekula states, “the backwater becomes a front water. Everyone wants a glimpse of the sea.”²⁹



Figure 10. Ngāhuia Harrison, *Coastal Cannibals*, 2020. Photograph, 1498.50 x 1180 mm. Courtesy of the artist

A suburban development occupies most of the horizon of the photograph *Coastal Cannibals*. The area and the *mana whenua* Patuharakeke prepare for the

swelling population. The tribe watches their land being carved up so that each house can have a boat launch on a manufactured coast, in water that shouldn't be there. And above this all, emerging above the new build, is Manaia. His ever-identifiable peak is our beacon of home: *tū tonu, tū tonu* (continues to stand, continues to stand).³⁰

Ngāhuaia Harrison (Ngātiwai, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Pukenga, Pākehā) is an artist and researcher. She completed her master of fine arts degree at Elam School of Fine Art in 2012, and is currently a doctoral candidate at Elam and the James Henare Māori Research Centre, University of Auckland. Working with lens-based media, Harrison produces images that consider Māori occupation on and around bodies of water. This includes the environmental and economic realities that mana whenua (local Indigenous authorities) contend with, and the national and local government policies that Māori are controlled by on their own lands and waters. Her successive solo and group exhibitions have considered the past and future histories of iwi (tribal) and hapū (subtribe) landscapes, examining the Māori worldview of responsibility and reciprocity in community.

Notes

¹ “The Maori Warrior’s Way | NZETC,” accessed September 15, 2021, http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Gov10_09Rail-t1-body-d7.html.

² “A Tapu Isle of Birds — Hauturu and its Inhabitants — Old Maori Memories | NZETC,” accessed July 2, 2020, http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Gov13_10Rail-t1-body-d5.html.

³ Aimé Césaire and Robin D. G. Kelley, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 36.

⁴ Nancy Fraser, *Cannibal Capitalism* (New York: Verso Books, 2022).

⁵ Charles Hursthouse, *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South*, 1857, Vol. I, Chapter VIII, “NATIVES,” 179, <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=845&page=0&action=null>.

⁶ New Zealand and Waitangi Tribunal, Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Muriwhenua Fishing Claim (WAI 22), 2013, 118, https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68479315/Wai0019%20W.pdf.

⁷ Fiona McCormack, “Interdependent Kin in Māori Marine Environments,” *Oceania* 91, no. 2 (2021): 204, <https://doi.org/10.1002/occea.5308>.

⁸ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 187.

⁹ Whanganui is an area in the lower North Island, New Zealand.

- ¹⁰ Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (London: Zed Books, 2014), 19.
- ¹¹ The James Henare Māori Research Centre team uses the term “flax-roots” to signify local community and movements. Influenced by the notion of “grass-roots,” this is a Māori-centric image acknowledging the importance of flax or *harakeke*.
- ¹² This paper recognises that New Zealand and Aotearoa are often different places sharing, or struggling over, the same islands. This paper uses the titles “New Zealand” and “Aotearoa” accordingly.
- ¹³ Several Māori scholars and *tohunga* (experts) have written and described *kaitiaki* and *kaitiakitanga* at length; for example, Reverend Māori Marsden, Dr Margaret Mutu, Dr Anne Marie Jackson, and Dr Manuka Henare.
- ¹⁴ Merata Kawharu, “Kaitiakitanga: A Maori Anthropological Perspective of the Maori Socio-Environmental Ethic of Resource Management,” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109, no. 4 (2000): 349–70.
- ¹⁵ *Kai-* (prefix that introduces an agent) and *tiaki* (to guard, to care); *kaitiaki* means “guardian.” *-Tanga* is a suffix that emphasises the quality of a noun; *kaitiakitanga* means “guardianship.”
- ¹⁶ M. Roberts, W. Norman, N. Minhinnick, D. Wihongi, and C. Kirkwood, “Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspectives on Conservation,” *Pacific Conservation Biology* 2, no. 1 (1995): 7–20.
- ¹⁷ Allan Sekula, Laleh Khalili, and B. H. D. Buchloh, *Fish Story*, 3rd revised English edition (London: MACK, 2018), 12.
- ¹⁸ Mere Kepa, interview by Ngāhuia Harrison, September 13, 2019, interview at Whaea Luana Piripis home in Takahiwai. Transcript and recording, James Henare Māori Research Centre, researcher’s private collection.
- ¹⁹ Mies and Shiva, *Ecofeminism*, 99.
- ²⁰ Barry Barclay, “Celebrating Fourth Cinema,” *Illusions* 35 (July 2003), 7–11. An abridged version of a lecture given by Barclay at the University of Auckland Film and Media Department, September 17, 2002.
- ²¹ H. J. Tsinhnahjinnie and V. Passalacqua, eds., *Our People, Our Land, Our Images: International Indigenous Photographers* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2006).
- ²² Ngarino Ellis and Natalie Robertson, “The Iwirākau Project: A Collaborative Waiapu Approach,” *History of Photography* 42, no. 3 (July 3, 2018): 239–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2018.1537099>.
- ²³ Natalie Robertson, “Nga Whatu-ora: We the Living Are the Eyes of Our Sleeping Ancestors,” *Public* 27, no. 54 (Winter 2016), 132–45, <http://www.publicjournal.ca/54-indigenous-art/>.
- ²⁴ Maori Marsden and Charles Te Ahukaramū, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Otaki, N.Z.: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003).
- ²⁵ “Move the Port, and Watch Rates Rise – Auckland Mayor Phil Goff,” *Newshub*, sec. Election, accessed February 1, 2022, <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/election/2017/08/move-the-port-and-watch-rates-rise-auckland-mayor-phil-goff.html>.

²⁶ “Northport Getting Ready to Expand, without Ports of Auckland Move,” *Stuff*, July 17, 2021, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/125771827/northport-getting-ready-to-expand-without-ports-of-auckland-move>.

²⁷ Sekula et al., *Fish Story*, 12.

²⁸ “Whangārei: New 30-Year Growth Strategy for One of New Zealand’s Fastest-Growing Districts,” *RNZ*, September 26, 2021, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/452335/whangarei-new-30-year-growth-strategy-for-one-of-new-zealand-s-fastest-growing-districts>.

²⁹ Sekula et al., *Fish Story*, 12.

³⁰ This is a common saying to express ongoing occupation or endurance, combining *tū* (hold, stand, endure) and *tonu* (unceasing, simply, continue).

PATRICK FLORES

Belatedly and Finally: The Early Time of the Indigenous in the Concurrent Contemporary

Abstract

This essay discusses the uneasy process of mediating material that is assigned the term “Indigenous” and its variations, including “folk,” “customary,” “ethnic,” “Aboriginal,” and “First Nation,” among others. These terms are, in turn, set against a range of dominant rubrics, such as “national,” “modern,” and “Western”—a contrast that may catalyse assimilation or incite resistance. This fraught process plays out in various ways through the writing of art history, the curating of contemporary art, and the organisation of a national modern art collection and representation of living traditions. This essay shares the unease, as well as the productive effort, in struggling with these problematics, which implicates the very condition of nature and the well-being of the species. It annotates experiences in two specific settings: the nation-state and the contemporary biennale. This reflection on practice is intended to initiate conversations on how the Indigenous is constitutive of the cultural politics of curation and the methods of telling time in crafting a context deemed (art-) historical. In this engagement, the curatorial gesture is troubled by lateness as well as by timeliness in reclaiming an earlier moment of creative life that is finally rendered as a contemporaneous cosmology.

Keywords: *Indigenous artists, Taiwan artists, Filipino artists, cultural politics, curating contemporary art, nation-state, contemporary biennale*

In composing my keynote speech for the “Grounded in Place” symposium at Queensland University of Technology (QUT), which forms the basis of this essay, I realised how difficult it is to unravel the narrative of origin, on the one hand, and the work of power, on the other, across eras and birthplaces. I begin with this question of origin and power because it cuts across claims to resist, re-articulate, and transform asymmetrical conditions in ways that may elude the procedures of critique as we know it, or to possibly reclaim primordially as we have never imagined it to happen within intersubjectivity. The spectre of power hovers above episodes of colonial civilisation, marked by violence and culture, and the tropes of origin that on their own inscribe discriminations and consolidate everyday events as identity-effects. In this contentious atmosphere, the struggle to be first and to

be free and the complicities entailed in working with others—sometimes amid unfreedom and erasure—proposes trajectories into what we may provisionally call “indigeneity” as opposed to “instrument” and “alienation.”

This essay discusses the uneasy process of mediating material that is assigned the term “Indigenous” and its variations or inflections, among them “folk,” “customary,” “ethnic,” “Aboriginal,” and “First Nation.” These terms are, in turn, set against a range of dominant rubrics—such as “national,” “modern,” or “Western”—which are contrasts that may either catalyse assimilation or incite refusal or dis-integration. This fraught process ramifies in various ways through the writing of art history within the history of culture, the curating of contemporary art within the biennale complex, and the organisation of a national modern art collection and representation of living traditions. This text shares encounters with the unease as well as the productive effort in engaging with the problematic, which implicates the very condition of nature and the condition of the species. It annotates experiences in two specific settings—the nation-state and the contemporary biennale—in which the circumscribed territory and geopolitical unit of a country are captured in terms of national identity even as the biennale flourishes amid contemporaneous subjectivities promised by a proliferating platform. This reflection on practice hopes to initiate conversations around how the Indigenous is constitutive of the cultural politics of curation and the methods of marking time in crafting a context deemed (art-)historical. In this type of action, the curatorial gesture is troubled by lateness as well as by timeliness in recovering an earlier moment of creative life finally rendered as a contemporaneous cosmology.

I share here lessons I have learned from the process of writing art history and curating. I will not prescribe templates, as I am constantly confronting questions that tend to lead to provisional positions. In the spirit of casting artistic or curatorial practice as a lively public sphere of theorisation of the contemporary Indigenous, or the Indigenous contemporary, I am always interested in hearing from peers about their own experiences.

In 2020, I was asked by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum to curate an exhibition and programming for Taiwanese Indigenous artist Sakuliu (b. 1960) of the house of Pavavaljung for the Taiwan Pavilion at the 2022 Venice Biennale. Taiwan’s presence in this context is tricky, of course, because the Venice Biennale only recognises nation-states as far as the national pavilions are concerned, and Taiwan has a precarious geopolitical status.¹ I view this tension as productive because it complicates the notion of the national in the context of the biennale, which is supposed to be worldly or global or intensely inter-local. The work of Sakuliu hails

from a distinct place in the copious creative world of Taiwan. While it is rooted in, and homes in on, the Indigenous lifeworld of the Paiwan, it actively interacts with the changing social context surrounding it. Sakuliu stands at this crossing and strives to transpose spaces across and within it. Sakuliu's presence further confounds the biennale paradigm to the degree that he intimates the Indigenous within the expectations of the representation of a proto- and para-nation partaking of ambivalent or mottled Chinese-ness although not reducible to it, as attested to by Sakuliu. To some extent, the Indigenous artist performs a history of exclusion within Taiwan and Venice, as well as the practice of re-mediation in the sites of the Pavilion and the Biennale, which need not be conflated with each other.

Sakuliu's practice is informed by the impulse of a knowledge generator who, on the one hand, undertakes visual research of resilient mythology, communal strategy, and an embracing cosmology through drawing, ceramics, photography, and animation. On the other hand, he reveals a full-bodied intelligence for artistic intervention through sculpted forms, the built environment, installation, and the cultural labour of politically recalibrating heritage. I am struck by his layered artistic language and his deep engagement with his community in Sandimen in Pingtung County, in Taiwan's south. Coming from the Philippines and Southeast Asia, I was keen to draw intersecting lines between these two points of the south in the sheltering context of Austronesian culture, and to reflect on the current discussion of what it means to be either contemporary (self-conscious of the present) or local. Sakuliu seems to think this as a false binary, as he enlivens an ecology stirred by the spirit of ancestors and recreated by the commitments of the citizen-artists we encounter.

However, in January 2022, three months before the exhibition opening, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum revoked its support of Sakuliu as a representative of Taiwan to Venice, owing to sexual assault accusations against him. As a curator, I thought that my moving forward meant staying with the trouble, so to speak, in the vein of Donna Haraway, by perhaps offering a proposal for a pavilion of Indigenous and gender restoration.² The pavilion, I ruminated, must be able to find a way to curate a performative condition in which this tear in the fabric of society may be stitched with generosity and fairness within a tradition of deliberation and restoration in our contemporary time. This is our delicate and poignant obligation to the Indigenous communities of Taiwan, the first people to inhabit the country, as well as to the women who have been wronged in history. To not support them at this very trying time with a proper curatorial ecology

would have a profound effect on the Indigenous movement and the future of Taiwan as a nation of ethnic and subjective complexity.

The serious sexual assault accusations against Sakuliu in December 2021 were unforeseen and unfortunate, and his disqualification as the artist of the exhibition left a deep void in the project. As events quickly unfolded away from curatorial calibration, I thought that in the future there should be a methodology to replenish amid a trauma, a crisis, or a fissure in the cosmology, harness the care that curatorial work promises, and to initiate a process of reparation and transformation for those who feel violated and those who are named as agents of the violation. For me, institutional disengagement, which I completely understand, should not be bound to the curatorial patience to stay with the trouble and come to terms with the loss of art, curation, and a pavilion.

Sakuliu's Taiwan-signifying presence in Venice would have performed a series of exclusions within Taiwan and Venice. First, as an Indigenous artist, he does not belong to the dominant Han Chinese geopoetics. Secondly, Taiwan, for its part, is not considered a nation-state in Venice and therefore is not entitled to a pavilion. The third exclusion is his ineligibility to embody Taiwan and its identity-effects, on account of a supposed transgression of an ethical and moral norm, which ultimately defines the aesthetic viability of a representation, the material requisite itself of national respectability. These exclusions mingle the discrepant registers of the Aboriginal and the compromised, the primeval and the injurious, the erotic and the ethnic.

The attractiveness and desire of representation, as well as its disavowal at various levels, may be linked to the opportunity of an entity to express a position within the exceptional plurality that Venice affords. This conviviality or publicness seems to be irresistible even as it risks the conflation of so-called diversity with global agglomeration. That said, from this agglomeration a counter-imaginary through the pavilion may be carved out artistically and curatorially—and phenomenologically, too, as the audience becomes a mediating public sphere in Venice. Such a counter-imaginary need not begin and proceed under the aegis of the nation, or even the post-colony, but may rather ramify in a gamut of localities that is not reducible to the national artefact: village, street, continent, diaspora, pre-national community, or statelessness, among other resonances of locus. Here lies the crucial nexus between nation-ness, globality, and the world of indigeneities, as well as the contact zone of contemporaneity and primordality that gives rise not so much to a hegemonic identity as to an original relationality. The Taiwan presence, in fact, flourishes in this elusive condition, deemed as it is a

collateral exhibition and not a national pavilion in light of Chinese protestations. As a sheer and mere collateral, it is at once invested and concomitant.

Asia-Pacific

My involvement at the second Asia-Pacific Triennial (APT) at the Queensland Art Gallery in 1996—as a speaker and a writer for its accompanying publication—introduced me to the Asia-Pacific as a geo-poetic category, a different place that creates differently, apart from being a normative geopolitical one that is of Cold War vintage and neoliberal persistence. The event in Brisbane also introduced me to the term “Aboriginal” within art history and contemporary art. It was an instructive trip for me, particularly because the Philippines would now be situated within Asia and the Pacific and no longer within Europe and the Americas of which the actions and attitudes of the colonialist and the imperialist were blueprints of legibility. At the conference, I spoke on a panel on popular culture alongside Philippine artist Mark Justiniani, Indonesian critic Enin Supriyanto, and Japanese visual artist and superstar Takashi Murakami. I talked about Justiniani’s appropriation of the decorated mode of transport in the Philippines called the jeepney, which mutated from the Willys jeep of World War II in the Pacific. I mention this because a recurring motif in the discussion of the Indigenous within the contemporary is the tactic, and sometimes the polemic, of appropriation—or how elements of a culture not beholden to the modern are re-worked in contemporary forms that may well be postmodern or postcolonial. The jeepney exemplifies an eccentric mix, straddling the rural and the urban, securing its place in folk and popular culture. In Justiniani’s art, the craft of the jeepney ornament is re-functioned to convey colonial critique as well as to exalt native ingenuity and even national identity.

It is worth noting that Philippine filmmaker Eric Oteyza de Guia, better known as Kidlat Tahimik, in his seminal film *Perfumed Nightmare* (1977) begins with a shot of a jeepney to access the lifeworld and history of a town. Tahimik’s forays into this territory would lead him to profess some kind of Indigenous practice; in his public appearances and daily life, he has been seen wearing a northern Cordillera community’s lower garment and using a movie camera fabricated from the fibre of rattan. It would also motivate him to research interpreter Enrique de Malacca for his film *BalikBayan #1: Memories of Overdevelopment Redux VI* (2015). In general, the figure of Enrique is resonant in the way he rewrites the script of the first circumnavigation of the world by

Ferdinand Magellan, the quincentenary of which was commemorated by the Philippines in 2021, imagined as coincident with the first Mass in the archipelago to be called the Philippines and the heroism of the chieftain Lapulapu who, along with his men, killed Magellan in 1521. In his last will and testament, Magellan describes Enrique as a captured slave from Malacca, formerly occupied by the Portuguese and part of present-day Malaysia. He is identified as a “mulatto” and a Christian. Enrique’s role in this history of exploration is enhanced by his skill in communicating with both the explorers and the explored, which indicates that he spoke some of the languages of Austronesia and Southeast Asia, including the one spoken in the future nation of the Philippines. In surfacing the spectacle of circumnavigation, it is vital in the same vein to speak of the layers of indigeneity and complicity as embodied by Enrique, who was a linguistic medium, evoking the imaginaries of the brown skin, African ancestry, and slavery even as he also indexed Catholic conversion and translation.



Figure 1. Kidlat Tahimik, *Magellan, Marilyn, Mickey & Fr. Dámaso: 500 Years of Conquistador RockStars* (installation view), 2021. Multimedia installation, Palacio de Cristal, Madrid. Photograph courtesy of the author

Tahimik exacerbates this aesthetic in his installation work *Magellan, Marilyn, Mickey & Fr. Dámaso: 500 Years of Conquistador RockStars* (2021), which was presented at the Palacio de Cristal (Glass Palace), in Madrid's Buen Retiro Park under the auspices of the Museo Reina Sofia (Fig. 1). To a certain extent, with this work the artist is returning to the scene of the crime, as the palace held an exposition on the Philippines in 1887 that presented living Indigenous peoples like anthropological specimens to be ogled or scrutinized. In Tahimik's reckoning, this place of racism morphs into a postcolonial phantasmagoria of tableaux and installations made by him and other collaborators. Through the prism of entertainment or a rock concert, colonisers and pop icons contrive the helter-skelter Philippine history, a carnival of re-possession built up from organic materials, industrial objects, detritus and invention, and a meandering and heady imagination.

Postcolonial

The colonial moment is salient in the reflection on the Indigenous because it foregrounds the coming together of a global order, as well as marks the moment of the Anthropocene and the beginning of possible natural extinction, as Sugata Ray points out in his ongoing project on Indian Ocean art histories. The latter moment is exemplified, in the way territory is possessed in terms of cartography and ethnography, in the 1734 map, engraved by Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay from the archipelago, who inscribes the word *indio* (native) on the work. The map unfolds a range of creatures and formations: inhabitants, foreigners, plants, animals, land, water, air. The shift from a global to a planetary sensitivity may well emerge with this same ecology in which these creatures and formations, as Sugata Ray puts it, "dwell in difference," and perhaps, if I may add, in alterity.³

In 1999, I worked with Australian artist and critic Pat Hoffie to select the artists from the Philippines for the third APT. One of the artists we chose was Roberto Feleo (b. 1954), who has devoted a large part of his career to visualising Indigenous belief systems that had been previously only been orally intuited. When I was curator at the National Art Gallery of the National Museum of the Philippines around 2006, I presented Feleo's sprawling work called *Tau Tao* (Fig. 2). Feleo evokes an Indigenous mythological schema in what may be considered by the art world as an installation, but he calls it *tau tao*, which, according to him, is the "secondary vessel the dead are believed to occupy to make themselves available to their kin when they need to consult them for solutions to their

problems.”⁴ He makes reference to this form in Indonesia, but also mentions examples from Palawan and the Northern Cordilleras in the Philippines. Feleo insists on this context and this nomination. This specificity extends to the main material of the *tau tao*—sawdust—which, to him, summons the practical intelligence of Philippine house builders and carpenters and what he regards as collective memory.



Figure 2. Roberto Feleo, *Tau Tao*, 1994. Multimedia installation, National Museum of the Philippines. Photograph courtesy of the author

This specific work signifies Feleo’s investment in the project of reconstructing an imagination of a deep past through an idiosyncratic contemporary medium, which in turn is traced to customary form. In his own words, it is a “visual retelling of the Bagobo myth of the afterlife through a three-dimensional presentation consisting of six life-size pieces and the landscape in

which they interact.”⁵ He characterises it as an allegory that “serves as a map to the Bagobo cosmology where light and darkness, order and chaos . . . all the cycles of earthly life interplay—eventually answering the ultimate question: What happens to us after we die?”⁶ I am intrigued by this fascination with the “afterlife” as a trope that likewise releases “art” from the hegemony of aesthetics and into an animate sensibility.

At the National Museum, I also met the soil painters of the Talaandig ethnic community in Bukidnon in the southern Philippine island of Mindanao, who participated in a national competition held at the museum. Artist and cultural worker Abraham Garcia Jr. had curated these artists at the Singapore Biennale in 2013, where they presented the painting titled *Cultural Plight*. According to Garcia, the work portrays the Talaandig people’s “shared land and world, where they negotiate the layered engagements in a multicultural Mindanao region and milieu” in which “visual elements are depicted from varied hues, shades, and tones extracted from fourteen types of clay found within the ancestral territory in Songco, Bukidnon.”⁷ Multi-faceted artist Rodelio (“Waway”) Linsahay Saway introduced soil painting to fellow artists Salima Saway-Agra-an, Marcelino “Balugto” Necosia Jr, Raul Sungkit Bendit, Soliman Poonon, RJ Sumingsang Saway, Niño Dave Tecson, Christian Lloyd Eslao, and Adelfa ‘Nanay Ipa’ Saway Kinuyog. As Garcia notes,

they sourced clay, experimented [with] its pigment qualities, and enhanced its binding qualities that culminated in their first collective show in 2006. It further expanded their creative works besides weaving, oral tradition, music, dance, chants, tribal prints, and body tattoos.⁸

In 2009, I began working at the Jorgas B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center of the University of the Philippines, where I also teach art history. In the museum, I have had the opportunity to reflect on what it means for the Indigenous to cohabit the space of the modern and the contemporary with all the attendant risks inhering in the politics of representation and the ethos of authenticity. In 2018, British art theorist, writer, and academic Stephen Wilson curated the group exhibition *Transpersonal, Instructions* at the museum, bringing together a number of overseas artists. Among them were some members of the Karrabing Film Collective, including Gavin Bianamu, Shannon Sing, and Elizabeth A. Povinelli. On their second day in the city, the artists scoured the junkyard of the university and repurposed materials into an installation in the museum, beside which was a room that screened their film, *The Mermaids, Mirror Worlds* (2018;

Fig. 3). According to them, the “installation represents Karrabing Dreamings as they survive by reshaping the toxicities of extractive capital into their own shape.”⁹ On another work’s label, they explained:

This tin shed wall demonstrates how the force and meaning of Karrabing totemic life resonates through youth culture. The totemic tags follow traditional story lines with the splotches of paint representing the shared ceremonies, story, sweat and blood that connect countries across difference or as Karrabing say in creole, “show mebela roan roan country and how wuliya connected.”¹⁰

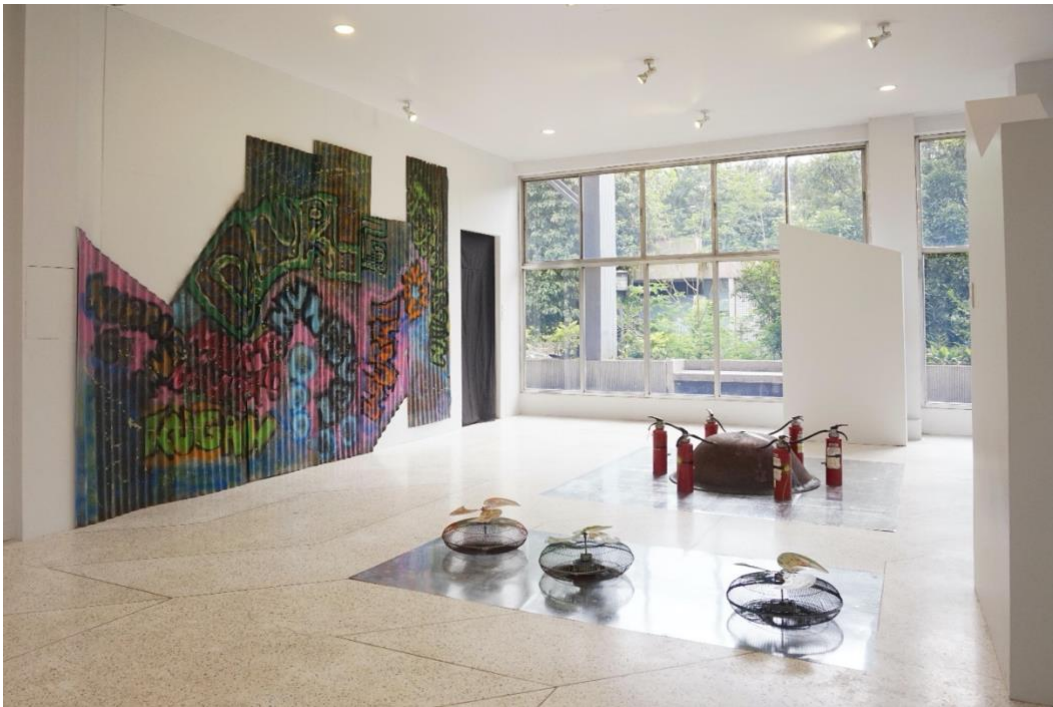


Figure 3. Karrabing Film Collective, clockwise from left: *Graffiti Dreaming #3*, 2018; *Kaingmerre (Sun)*, 2018; and *Penidjebhe (Star) Dreaming #2*, 2018. Multimedia installation in the exhibition *Transpersonal, Instructions*, University of the Philippines Vargas Museum, December 14, 2018–February 1, 2019. Photograph courtesy of the author

Their video titled *The Mermaids, Mirror Worlds* has been described as

an exploration of the present future vision in a new exploration of western industrial toxicity. Screens alternate between publicly accessible promotional films of chemical giants such as Monsanto and a story of young Indigenous man, Aiden, taken away when he

was just a baby to be a part of a medical experiment to save the white race, and who is then released back into the world of his family. As he travels with his father and brother across the landscape, he confronts two possible futures and pasts embodied by his own tale and the current fantasies of multinational chemical and extractive industries.¹¹

Povinelli, a well-known American scholar and theorist at Columbia University, delivered a lecture in which she persuasively laid out the critical link between creative form and social ecology by way of Adorno's suture and Benjamin's rupture. This link may have generated false choices and in the contemplation of the Indigenous, we need to simultaneously contemplate imbrication, on the one hand, and Povinelli's concept of geontology, on the other. Through geontology, we begin to reconsider another matrix of false choices between life and non-life, being and non-being.¹²



Figure 4. Gerardo Tan, Felicidad Prudente, and Sammy Buhle, *Rendering 2* and *Rendering 4*, 2019. Multimedia installation at the exhibition *Visualizing Sound*, held at University of the Philippines Vargas Museum, February 9–March 7, 2019. Photograph courtesy of the author

Re-mediation

Philippine artists have long sought to create work in dialogue with an Indigenous imperative, as it were. For instance, in the exhibition *Visualizing Sound* (2019), also

held at the Vargas Museum, Gerardo Tan (b. 1960) collaborated with ethnomusicologist Felicidad Prudente (b. 1950) and Ifugao weaver Sammy Buhle (b. 1989) to access the sonic atmosphere of textile production and reflect on the translation of forms through a series of works titled *Rendering*. The work's video and audio documentation of sound was generated by weaving and notated in modern symbols, which were then translated to visual images and interpreted in textile by the ikat method (Fig. 4). The relay between conceptualism, weaving, and ethnomusicology calibrated Indigenous and contemporary form through a collaboration among agents of different disciplines.



Figure 5. Gaston Damag, *Ifugao Red*, 2014. Solo exhibition held at University of Philippines Vargas Museum, October 4–November 15, 2014. Photograph courtesy of the author

Gaston Damag (b. 1964), who also traces his heritage to the Indigenous Ifugao in the Northern Cordillera, revisited the modernist estimation of colour, as in Yves Klein Blue, with his 2014 solo exhibition *Ifugao Red* (Fig. 5–7). Damag re-performs cultural objects and places them in a museological context. His works may be read as reconsiderations of the civilisational and the institutional, as well as the modernist. Objects including pestles, knives, and a figure of a *bulul* (rice granary spirit) rendered in wood are mingled with industrial materials such as galvanised iron, steel cables, incandescent bulbs, and glass. There might be a hint of the museological sublime here, as well as an animating Indigenous presence in terms of the fastidious formalism of the display that is foiled by the cogent ethnicity of the embedded forms within the said formalism.



Figure 6. Gaston Damag, *Ifugao Red*, 2014. Solo exhibition held at University of Philippines Vargas Museum, October 4–November 15, 2014. Photograph courtesy of the author



Figure 7. Gaston Damag, *Ifugao Red*, 2014. Solo exhibition held at University of Philippines Vargas Museum, October 4–November 15, 2014. Photograph courtesy of the author

In 2020, installation artist Junyee (b. 1942) spoke to the COVID pandemic condition through the use of bamboo in *Kwarantín* (Fig. 8). Junyee constructed beds, with black marks dispersed across them, out of bamboo, referencing Indigenous materials. Each was enclosed in a tall, uneven bamboo rail and the beds were strewn on the museum's lawn to suggest a state of unrest. In Junyee's practice, the Indigenous pertains to the material and its source, as well as the technology underlying its form, veering away from the fine-arts repertoire of tools and themes.



Figure 8. Junyee, *Kwarantín*, 2020. Multimedia installation, University of the Philippines Vargas Museum. Photograph by the author

As seen in these three cases, the Indigenous moves in and out of registers. In the Philippines—which has been colonised successively from 1521 to 1945 by Spanish, American, and Japanese empires—the Indigenous is defined as not Christian and not Muslim and is distinguished from the folk, which is a mixture of so-called native and foreign cultures via colonialism, conversion, and trade. On the one hand, creative agents who epitomise traditional modes of aesthetic production are exalted by the government as National Living Treasures who sustain living traditions. On the other hand, modern and contemporary artists have cited the Indigenous through realism, abstraction, installation, performance,

moving image, and the neo-ethnic avant-garde. In this traffic of mediations, annotations around craft and art, consciousness and gift, apprenticeship and innovation, dreaming and learning constantly modify the ways we understand contemporaneous sensible forms and actions. Moreover, the museological and curatorial intervention foregrounds the need to create conditions of a political community of interested agents, which can undergird efforts towards a poetics of presentation built around seminars and thoughtful deliberations by interweaving constituencies, enmeshed lineages, and shared passages.

Biennale

The second locus of engagement I present here is the biennale, generally thought to be a form of global capture and agglomeration. In 2018, I co-curated the inaugural Bangkok Art Biennale. I worked around the provocation of the themes of the child and the primitive to converse with the title of the biennale, which was *Beyond Bliss*. The child and the primitive are absorbed in the procedures of the human and the quest for contentment, if not completion and perfection. This process inevitably takes on racial and capitalist dimensions in which it is the very body and labour of the colonised that become the resources needed to sustain a dominant system of disproportionate and worldwide structures.

At the Bangkok Art Biennale, Vietnamese artist collective Art Labor's *Jrai Dew: A Radicle Room* was a think-tank room and a mind map. The phrase "Jrai Dew" speaks of the belief in the human and the cosmos of the ethnic community Jarai, based in the Central Highlands of Vietnam. As Art Labor explains:

In [Jarai] philosophy, being human is a part of the metamorphosis cycle of nature. After death, the journey going back to their origin ends at becoming dew (*ia ngôm* in Jarai language) evaporating to the environment—the state of non-being—the beginning particles of new existence. In this metaphorical context, forestland with its people is the vanishing dew, while new existence of modernization and industrialization arise. The radicle room encompasses three years' worth of work with the community of the Central Highlands of Vietnam and includes archival materials, documentation, and texts collected from previous projects within this scope. The project springs from problems involving the relations between cultural workers and the community, explorations that trigger collaborations among agents and within Jrai Dew. Using the idea of the "artwork" as pretext, Jrai Dew pivots on collaborators' process

of observing, understanding, touching, smelling, feeling, and processing landscape, people, and nature.¹³

Yuki Kihara's *Taualuga: The Last Dance*, a performance and video work, was a response to the photographic archive of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, specifically photographs of Sāmoa during the colonial administration of New Zealand (1914–62). The archive includes works by New Zealand photographers John Alfred Tattersall, Thomas Andrew, and the Burton Brothers. The *Taualuga* is a Samoan dance performed to both affirm Samoan resilience and lament the losses encountered in its colonial history. In Kihara's performance, the *Taualuga* is mobilised as a way of confronting colonial history, referencing the Mau movement in 1908 that inspired Western Sāmoa's assertion of its independence from New Zealand's colonialism.

Samak Kosem's *Nonhuman Ethnography* was a series of visual ethnographies based on field research at the southernmost provinces of Thailand by focusing on queer ties of human and nonhuman agencies in the realms of Anthropocene spaces. This nonhuman ethnography of *Sheep* (2017) and *Waves* (2018) was conceptualised with the idea of art and anthropological methods to explore the representation of coexistence among people, things, and places. The works included multimedia images, videos, photographs, writing, drawing, and objects. The videos dwelled on sheep and waves. The other part of the installation was composed of "field notes" in the Melayu language spoken in Southern Thailand.

Finally, pioneer Indonesian artist-activist Moelyono (b. 1957) presented hauntingly beautiful painted portraits of schoolchildren in Papua or Irian Jaya in Indonesia, a place and people assimilated into the Indonesian nation-state but who have asserted their freedom to be primordial. Rendered in an extremely realist style, the images uncannily resemble photographs. They exude innocence and dignity, speaking to the fantasy of paradise. The paintings, however, came with art teaching modules that the artist prepared for students in a project he initiated for schools in Papua. These modules referred to activities that asked students to draw figures from their environment. This alternation between portrait and the initial experience of drawing points to the agency of being present and of making present in a contested territory.

I was the artistic director for the Singapore Biennale in 2019, at a time when Singapore was marking the bicentenary of the arrival of the British. The title of the biennale—*Every Step in the Right Direction*—was taken from a line in an interview with Salud Algabre, a woman revolutionary from the 1930s in the

Philippines. When asked about a revolt that she co-led, she rectified the interviewer by saying: “No uprising fails. Each one is a step in the right direction.” Part of this right direction is the postcolonial inspiration to reconstitute the worldliness of the global contemporary. Key in this gesture was the inclusion of artist/curator Carlos Villa (1936–2013). In 1976, the year that the United States was marking its bicentennial as a nation, Villa curated *Other Sources: An American Essay*, in which more than 300 artists participated in the affiliated exhibitions and performances. The notion of the Third World was invoked here, but not to be defined in the singular; the assembly was “instead a comprehensive multi-level description of that experience” in which the “documentation becomes representation” of everyone and everything repressed or systematically discriminated upon by the modernist canon: people of colour, women, Indigenous and queer communities, and so on.¹⁴

In his self-portrait—an Itek print of a photograph of himself—Villa draws patterns to delineate a chance of becoming: “Somewhere between the enlarged image of an Asian face and the act of drawing was space. At that time there existed a void, devoid of a knowledge of true national identity or a specific and truer art history.”¹⁵ In *Artist’s Feet*, Villa narrates a tale of the Aboriginal people in Australia walking on feathered shoes around enemy camps and casting spells; the feet also pertain to a surrealist Magritte painting where feet morph into shoes.

In 1980, Villa performed *Ritual: A Painting Performance/Interaction* at The Farm in San Francisco, mingling Dogon cosmology and American action painting. He interfaced with Tom Seligman for around four hours, which involved paint, blood, feather casts of his body, masks, and a cape. Lucy Lippard describes Villa’s art as “generous,” characterised not only by the “density of its visual content, but by . . . an embrace, a rare passion that resembles his own modestly charismatic presence.”¹⁶

Alongside Villa at the Singapore Biennale were Chang En-Man (b. 1967) and Busui Ajaw (b. 1986). Chang En-Man’s work for the biennale traced the pathways of the giant African land snail from its origin in Africa through Singapore and into Taiwan, where it was introduced during Japan’s colonial rule. Over time, it became part of Indigenous gastronomy in Taiwan. Busui Ajaw, an Akha artist living in Northern Thailand, presented a set of paintings evoking the story of an Akha prince, his son, and the world’s first mother, named Amamata. Surrounded by these paintings was a traditional spirit gate, the border between the village and the mythical world. The presence of these Indigenous Taiwanese women artists offered a different enunciation of situatedness and migration, taking the Biennale to Austronesia, an ethnogenetic marker of Southeast Asia based on an out-of-

Taiwan theory, as well as to Zomia, the highlands of mainland Southeast Asia which refers to parts of Southeast Asia that have eluded strict control of nation-states and their bureaucracies to include North Vietnam, Thailand, North Myanmar, Southwest China, Tibet, Northeast India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

Venice

In preparing for the Taiwan Pavilion for the Venice Biennale in 2022, I was excited to learn about the Firsts Solidarity Network. This artist-led network intended to bring together inaugural national pavilions, as well as national pavilions presenting artists of a specific subjectivity for the first time as a critical turning point in their respective countries. Initiated by Yuki Kihara as the first Pasifika, Asian, and Fa'afafine/trans artist to represent the Aotearoa New Zealand Pavilion, this solidarity would offer support across the participating pavilions through a series of collaborative programs. The solidarity likewise would interrogate the "internal structures of national pavilions and their commitment towards equitable representation of artist/s."¹⁷ The scheme sought to "offer visitors to Venice a route to discover these 'firsts' at the global art world event. For artists and curators the network offers practical advice and camaraderie among participating pavilions."¹⁸ Included here were Albania, Great Britain, Poland, Nepal, Singapore, and—if plans did not miscarry—Taiwan, via Sakuliu, whose firstness as an Indigenous artist to represent Taiwan was ultimately to be thwarted. Indeed, the enterprise to "represent" is vexing and prone to constant appropriations.

That being said, such an aspiration to solidarity leads me to think more deeply of Chadwick Allen's idea of the transIndigenous, or the

diverse, sometimes multidirectional, even multidimensional forms. Most readily, we conceive such projects within and across a multitribal Native North America and its manifold Indigenous survivances (to borrow Gerald Vizenor's term for survival as active presence).¹⁹

The transIndigenous may translate as well to the interspecies, the transdisciplinary, the queer and transgender, and a possible futurity in the technologies of making. Allen looks into "purposeful Indigenous juxtapositions, which prioritize reading *across* and *through* multiple, diverse, and distinct Indigenous texts and contexts, rather than endlessly re-centering the colonial legacies and Indigenous-settler binaries of particular nation states."²⁰

I close with two speculations on an Indigenous future. In 2018, I was invited to Ulaanbataar, Mongolia, for an event around the project Land Art in which the idea of nomadic democracy was prominent. This was uncanny because in 2015, I curated the Philippine Pavilion in Venice, where an entry point was the film *Genghis Khan* produced in Manila in 1950. The film points to exceptional conquest within early modernity and the current dispute over the South China Sea—hailed by China as the contemporary silk road and which offers a horizon of a vaster Austronesia. For the Singapore Biennale 2019, we were initially working with the Romani artist-activist Ladislava Gaziova, who co-founded the Romafuturism Library. In both instances, the nomadic and the diasporic, the itinerant and the dispossessed, the wandering and the afterlife may well be compelling pathways to take as we continue to create geographies, solidarities, and time zones for, through, and across the Indigenous. I was thinking of this when I turned to the adverbs “belatedly” and “finally” for the title of this paper. This thought process beckons the early time of the Indigenous in contemporaneous cosmologies as a way of shaping the mediating around the question of the modern, which is the foundational condition of the possibility of knowing and sensing the Indigenous. The term “finally” signals epiphany and exasperation, as if to say the Indigenous is at long last before us, emerging during the emergency of the planet’s decisive decline and summoning the dreamers, the diviners, and the healers who have ushered in the Earth ever since. Indeed, concepts around the de-colonial, the non-modern, the multicultural, and the de-modern should be part of this theoretical vernacular that restitutes and restores what has been alienated by refusals encrusting around ethnicity, race, class, gender and sexuality, and other categories of personhood. These subjectivities need to be liquid again, like islands, and forever regenerative, like mangroves.

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Notes

¹ See Chris Horton, “Taiwan’s Status Is a Geopolitical Absurdity,” *The Atlantic*, July 8, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/07/taiwans-status-geopolitical-absurdity/593371/>.

² Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

³ See Sugata Ray, “From New Spain to Mughal India: Rethinking Early Modern Animal Studies with a Turkey,” in *Picture Ecology: Art and Ecocriticism in Planetary Perspective*, ed. Karl Kusserow (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 2021), 94–113.

⁴ Patrick Flores, “Roberto Feleo: Bagobo Afterlife: A Close Reading of an Installation,” in *Meridians of Region: Writing Art History and Curating Contemporary Culture in the Philippines and Taiwan* (Philippine Contemporary Art Network and the Taiwan Visual Art Archive, 2021), 53, <https://vargasmuseum.org/meridians-of-region/>.

⁵ Flores, “Roberto Feleo,” 53.

⁶ Flores, “Roberto Feleo,” 53.

⁷ Abraham Garcia Jr, unpublished notes, emailed to the author.

⁸ Abraham Garcia Jr, unpublished notes, emailed to the author.

⁹ Extended object label, *Kaingmerre (Sun) and Penidjebhe (Star) Dreaming #2, Transpersonal, Instructions*, Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines.

¹⁰ Extended object label, *Transpersonal, Instructions*, Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines.

¹¹ “Haegue Yang: *Triple Vita Nestings* / Karrabing Film Collective: *The Mermaids: Mirror Worlds*,” *e-flux*, June 2018, <https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/196963/haegue-yangtriple-vita-nestingskarrabing-film-collectivethe-mermaids-mirror-worlds/>.

¹² Geontology, or more specifically, geontological power, is a term formulated by Elizabeth A. Povinelli to “intensify the contrasting components of nonlife (*geos*) and being (ontology) currently in play in the late liberal governance of difference and markets . . . intended to highlight, on the one hand, the biontological enclosure of existence (to characterize all existents as endowed with the qualities associated with Life). And, on the other hand . . . the difficulty of finding a critical language to account for the moment in which a form of power long self-evident in certain regimes of settler late liberalism is becoming visible globally.” Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *Geontologies: A Requiem to Late Liberalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 5.

¹³ Unpublished notes of the Art Labor artists, emailed to the author, June 2018.

¹⁴ Carlos Villa, *Other Sources: An American Essay* (San Francisco: San Francisco Art Institute, 1976), 4.

¹⁵ Carlos Villa, *(60 Forms of) ATANG / Payback and Tribute (In Filipino)*, unpublished manuscript, n.p. Courtesy of the San Francisco Art Institute archives.

¹⁶ Lucy R. Lippard, "Making the World Smaller: Carlos Villa's Polyculturalism," in *Carlos Villa: World in Collision*, ed. Mark Dean Johnson and Trisha Lagaso (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 13–15.

¹⁷ Unpublished Firsts Solidarity Network brief, emailed to the author, August 2021.

¹⁸ See e-flux Announcements, "Firsts Solidarity Networks," March 28, 2022, <https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/450780/firsts-solidarity-network/>.

¹⁹ Chadwick Allen, "Charting Comparative Indigenous Traditions," in *Cambridge History of Native American Literature*, ed. Melanie Benson Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 447.

²⁰ Allen, "Charting Comparative Indigenous Traditions," 463.

DIANA LOOSER

Media Review: *Te Pae: Exploring the Realms*

Abstract

Media review: Te Pae: Exploring the Realms. Series of three online performances, approximately ninety minutes each, 2022. Performed by Regan Balzer, Horomona Horo, and Jeremy Mayall, with Troy Kingi, Maisey Rika, Waimihi Hotere, and Kurahapainga Te Ua.

Keywords: *Māori, performing arts, taonga pūoro, electronic music, performance painting, cross-arts collaboration, online, environment, metaphysical*

Te Pae: Exploring the Realms, a series of three online performances initially presented in April and May 2022, is a compelling interdisciplinary arts experience that takes the viewer on a profound journey through physical and perceptual dimensions of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world).¹ Featuring leading visual, musical, and body-centered performance artists from Aotearoa New Zealand, the trilogy engages multiple aspects of three fundamental realms of existence: Te Pae Rangi (the realm of light), Te Pae Ātea (the celestial realm), and Te Pae Nuku (the earthly realm). As each contributor works spontaneously, responding instinctively to the other artists to reveal an ephemeral and unique interpretation of each realm through performance painting, instrumental and electronic music, song and chant, dance, and installation/performance art, the artists' collaborative energies vibrantly and originally realize the multifaceted and interconnected nature of these elemental spaces and orders of experience. Reflecting innovations in COVID-era socially distanced and digital production, participants performed in their separate studio spaces while a video edit synthesized the experience for online viewers. *Te Pae* represents exciting advances in contemporary Māori performing arts and skillfully braids traditional and modern art forms into new compositions, while carrying forward performance's long-standing ability to evoke, through intimate embodied and expressive acts, huge spans of time and the vastness of the earth, the oceans, and the cosmos.

The series shares a common aesthetic, and is given artistic coherence through the core ensemble of Horomona Horo, whose sounds on taonga pūoro (traditional Māori instrumentation) blend with those of electronic keyboardist

Jeremy Mayall and interact with Regan Balzer's dynamic performance painting. Yet, each one of these ninety-minute performances has its own focus and emphasis, and each includes different artists augmenting the principal group. *Te Pae Rangī: Exploring the Realm of Light* (April 26, 2022), draws us into the natural world of light and life (Te Ao Mārama). Here, we encounter landscapes and seascapes, the creatures of the earth, and life cycles and evolutionary processes. The piece also addresses the world of humans—with their struggles and successes, conflicts, and harmonies—along with the quest for balance between the human and the environment. As an online viewer, I felt that the editing of *Te Pae Rangī* offered the most coherent experience; although the box insets on the screen expanded regularly to spotlight each artist, the visual focus was Balzer and her layered, fluid series of images that unfolded to complement Horo and Mayall's soundscape, punctuated by Troy Kingi on electric guitar. The sonic atmosphere, which has a similar feel in all three performances, has a complex aural texture, subtended by sustained, meditative bass notes with reverb and echo effects that give the impression of the rhythms and cycles of slow, deep time. This foundation is overlaid with lighter, brighter elements that evoke the animacy and vivacity of the world of light: Kingi's guitar riffs; Mayall's delicate, rippling fingering on the keyboard's upper octaves; and some beautiful touches of birdsong. Horo's taonga pūoro instruments are sculptural artworks in their own right; invested with spiritual significance and individual personification, they could be considered co-performers. They lend to the piece the haunting, high, melodious call of the bone flute; fuller, more resonant woodwinds; the heralding call of the conch; the earthy percussion and the deep breath of the gourd; and, from the air, the warm, healing whirring of the porotiti. This soundscape develops incrementally, scaffolding in bolder and more intricate motifs as Balzer's pictures similarly layer and accumulate.

Like the music, Balzer's painting is impressionistic; she layers vividly hued strokes ambidextrously, using implements and her fingertips, onto a large-scale canvas calibrated to the ambit of her limbs' reach. In white overalls, working rapidly and continuously—though always thoughtfully—she choreographs an embodied relationship with the paint and canvas in a way that turns the imagery into a live, durational performance. Using a wet paint wash that allows her to lithely change and erase previous images, Balzer creates a series of scenes that overlay one another; the overwritten images remain present as pentimenti or in memory, giving us a cumulative sense of development and change over time as well as in space. Beginning on a black backdrop suggesting creation origins in Te Kore (the void, the realm of potential being) and then Te Pō (night, darkness),

Balzer first delineates transformations toward the realm of becoming and of life, before tearing this background away neatly to reveal the white canvas of the world of light. She shows us an ocean replete with sea creatures and birds, which morphs fluently into a landscape with a serpentine river, then into the world of plants, and then the emergence of the human, first alone and then in relation, shimmering with radiant energy. At this point, Horo chants the well-known whakataukī (proverb) “He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tāngata, he tāngata” (What is the most important thing in the world? It is people!). Balzer’s images again dissolve and resolve before us, now showing a whare (house) and then a whole village, a spreading tree, and a forest. In one dramatic moment, sprays of bright red paint across the canvas conjure blood, perhaps indicating the tie to the land, the violence that exists within all human societies, or the ravages of colonization. These processual superimpositions, with their visual links to and embedding within one another, elaborate the concept of a relational whakapapa (genealogy) defined by the interrelationship of all living and non-living things. Together with the musical accompaniment, they present an effective mode of conveying a Māori understanding of the networked components of Te Pae Rangi.

Genealogical connections with the more-than-human world also come to the fore in the second performance piece, *Te Pae Ātea: Exploring the Celestial Realm* (May 12, 2022). Tracing creation lineages and the birth of the atua (gods), the performance recognizes and honors key celestial bodies (sun, moon, planets, stars), acknowledging their familial relationships and domains of responsibility, and cycles through Maramataka, the Māori lunar calendar. The inclusion of singer and songwriter Maisey Rika gives *Te Pae Ātea* greater structure and narrative content, as she guides us on a voyage through the cosmos with spoken narration and sung sequences in English and te reo Māori. Rika’s gentle melodies soar lightly, with grace and clarity, supplemented and enriched by the immersive aural scape created by Mayall and Horo. Throughout, Balzer works at her canvas, generating the stylized figures of atua from a multicolor, abstract palette. The painting evolves more slowly than in *Te Pae Rangi*, possibly indicating the pace of cosmic temporality, but it works as a counterpoint to Rika’s words, drawing out the personified animacy of these celestial bodies and illustrating votive rituals, such as the star oven built to feed Matariki (the star cluster associated with the Māori new year), its steam of cooked delicacies rising to the heavens to strengthen her for the coming year. Balzer’s final picture is particularly striking: it morphs into an image of the pale, full moon, adorned with golden orange spirit figures that grasp the orb and reach down toward the earth through the darkness. The artist uses her fingertips to create a firmament of white stars; as the closing lights

decline to a luminous blue, the image glows gorgeously with hues of purple and phosphorescence while the pulsing, bell-like echo of the pahū pounamu (greenstone gong) fades softly into silence.

The final performance of the trilogy, *Te Pae Nuku: Exploring the Earthly Realm* (May 26, 2022), amplifies the life force of Papatūānuku and the restless energies of Rūaumoko in volcanoes and earthquakes. It also acknowledges minerals and natural resources, and celebrates the human and supernatural life that comes from the earth. In this piece, the core ensemble is joined by vocalist Waimihi Hotere and dancer and performance artist Kurahapainga Te Ua. This group represents a rich collaboration, but the video edit made it more difficult for this online viewer to witness the whole arc of each performer's work; the process of cutting between artist segments made for a more fractured experience and diminished my appreciation of their interdependence. Nevertheless, *Te Pae Nuku* generates some captivating moments. Hotere's vocalizations alongside Mayall and Horo's sonic background lend a wonderfully warm resonance to the breath and sentiments of Papatūānuku, evoking a range of emotional states from joy and laughter, to tears, to the earth under stress. Te Ua's performance installation offers an intense physical and elemental engagement with stone and soil. Pouring and heaping the dark, fertile dirt into different configurations, and smearing her limbs with its mud, Te Ua performs an entwined choreography of flesh and earth, dancing with sweeping and angular gestures executed with martial precision. I interpreted the piece as an homage to Hineahuone (earth-formed woman), the first woman created by Tāne (progenitor of humankind), thus celebrating the birth of humans from the earth. Balzer's culminating and dominant painted image reflects and augments Hineahuone/Te Ua with an aura that accentuates her mana. Together, these various vocal, embodied, and visual acknowledgements of female power in relation to the earth and people form a pleasing through-line for *Te Pae Nuku*.

The *Te Pae* series is an elegant accomplishment; the interweaving of various performance mediums creates a holistic experience of earthly, lived, and celestial realms apprehended through multiple senses. Whereas I appreciated how the performances lulled their viewers into meditative states of reception, their durations still seemed prolonged; dramaturgically, a tighter structure might have achieved the same effects with greater impact in a shorter time. That said, *Te Pae* is an inspiring example of a technologically innovative, multi-arts platform that encourages new ways of registering and engaging the worlds that hold and define us. While *Te Pae* does not ignore more troubling aspects of conflict and discord, its overall feeling is uplifting, emphasizing generativity, resilience, healing,

and growth. The interconnectedness that characterizes the series' form and content serves as encouragement as we begin to emerge from a period of isolation, highlighting the role of the performing arts in creating and validating community across different domains.

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Notes

¹ The three online performances are available for viewing at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DVZWqbhFV68>, <https://youtu.be/vWugBFX-cSc>, and <https://youtu.be/r6ZKyWQD7pU>. The final artworks from the three *Te Pae* performances are being exhibited in the *Toi is Rongoa* exhibition at Waikato Museum, Hamilton, New Zealand, July 9, 2022–January 16, 2023. *Te Pae* also staged a live performance at the Ahurei Reo Māori festival in Wellington on September 17, 2022: <https://www.tereofest.nz/events/te-pae-exploring-realms/>.

LIOR SHAMRIZ

Media Review: *Whakapapa/Algorithms*

Abstract

Media review: Whakapapa/Algorithms. Film, 22 minutes, digital video and sound, 2021. Directed by Jamie Berry; distributed by CIRCUIT Artist Moving Image. Purchasing information available at <https://www.circuit.org.nz>

Keywords: *Jamie Berry, film, Aoteaora New Zealand, Māori, genealogy, water, family, Pacific Ocean, sound, Indigenous media, digital art, video installation*



Figure 1. Jamie Berry, *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, 2021. Digital video and sound (video still). Courtesy of the artist

Jamie Berry's *Whakapapa/Algorithms* begins with an image of a full moon accompanied by humming, electronic vibrating sounds. After a few seconds, red hand-drawn eyes appear on top of the moon, and soon they multiply, becoming an audience. The image is juxtaposed with a mirrored video depicting waves, which make way to clips of a ship, then mountains, then a little source of water. We see a child in a field from behind superimposed on an image of a shoreline (Fig. 1). Two drawn figures flank the child, and then a third one appears in the center, made of Arabic numerals and Latin letters. These different components catch the rhythm of the music and “breath” with it. They give space to more

videos: the child in a field juxtaposed with an album of photos that span decades, beginning with old black-and-white ones and moving to faded color 35mm “pocket” camera prints.

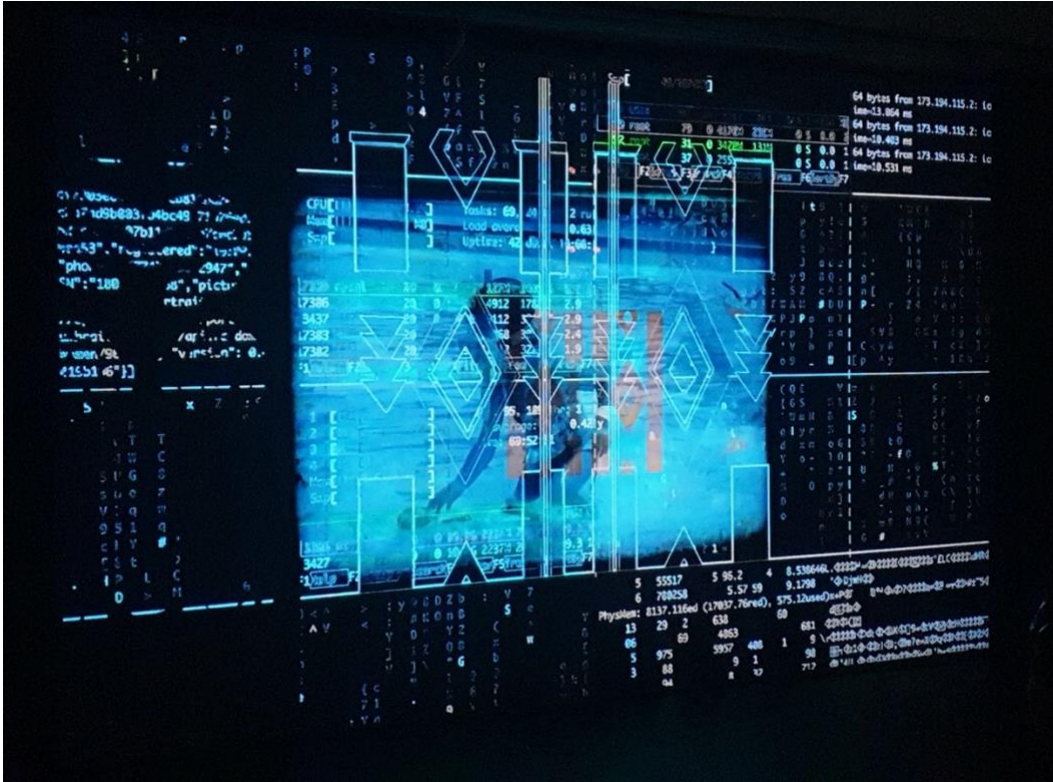


Figure 2. Jamie Berry, *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, 2021. Digital video and sound (video still). Courtesy of the artist

These are, to some extent, the seeds of the video, which was initially presented as an installation at the Audio Foundation in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland in March 2021. Understanding the video as an installation—one resulting from Berry’s practice as a video jockey (VJ), and relating to techniques of live improvisation and juxtaposition of both video and audio materials—is instrumental in thinking about the way the work situates itself between the artist and her community, and the communities of audiences, a documentation of a performance, whose temporality is reaching out beyond the nowness of its conception into a past and a future. As the video reveals itself, the seed components change, bloom, multiply, come back, and move forward.

A descendant of Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Ngāti Porou, and Ngā Puhi, Berry places herself within her *whakapapa* (family, genealogy) and

weaves it throughout the artworks. In her earlier *Waimaori* (2017), the title meaning “freshwater” or “mineral water,” she mixed triangular images with flickering organic images and mirrored clips of trees, dolphins, and the sea. Words such as *wairua* (the spirit of a person that exists beyond death) and *ake* (upwards, upstream) also appear on the screen; they are heard, too, together with other speech. The flow is sometimes naturalistic, with a video of water or of fish swimming in a stream, but it is also an over-saturated, colorful interpretation of a stream, digitized and processed. In the video *Ake Ake Ake Ake* (2020) she translated her own DNA sequencing into audio while projecting personal video clips on a 3D triangular sculpture. As with *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, a crucial element of these works is cyclicalty attached to rhythmic soundscapes. Graphic depictions of triangular shapes often appear in the works, as well as metaphorical throwbacks and throwforwards that stretch the temporality of the sensorial experience.



Figure 3. Jamie Berry, *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, 2021. Digital video and sound (video still). Courtesy of the artist

The 2021 exhibition at Audio Foundation in Auckland featured three works that, according to the gallery’s statement, “reflect[ed] the artist’s past, present, and future through her DNA and *whakapapa* connecting the spiritual and physical realms, ancestors, and descendants, and the natural world.”¹ Describing her visit to the exhibition, fellow artist Israel Randell writes that “moving through . . . the

visitor embodies the *whakatauki Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua* (I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past).”² In the video installation, images of her younger family members, candidly captured on camera, are layered with digits and Latin letters running through the canvas as if a computer program (Fig. 2). They are layered with pyramidal, pixelated shapes and accompanied by repetitive electronic music.

“Do they know it’s a visual/audio installation?” writes Berry, describing her first thoughts after learning that *Whakapapa/Algorithms* will be screened at the prestigious Oberhausen Kurzfilmtage in a theater together with other short films, one of the oldest short film festivals in the world, taking place in Oberhausen, Germany.³ An immediate subsequent question is what happens to the *Whakapapa/Algorithms* installation when it is transplanted to a different continent, thousands of miles away from the members of Berry’s family who are depicted in it? Taking the work to a European film festival is not an act of uprooting or decontextualizing, but rather the addition of a parallel, external angle in a work that already prepares itself to not only allow an outsider’s gaze into its community but rather be an opening of different directionalities made *for* those depicted on screen. “With the permission and blessing of my *whānau* (extended family) to show the work overseas, I traveled to Germany,” says Berry. There, in Oberhausen, it was shown alongside other short works—narrative and non-narrative, stop-motion animation and live-action—by filmmakers based in Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere.



Figure 4. Jamie Berry, *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, 2021. Digital video and sound (video still). Courtesy of the artist

The installation itself combines the imagery of playful family members, the vicinities of their community, and a lot of water—waves, ocean waves, and multiplied waves, often mirrored horizontally, vertically, or both (Fig. 3). But there are also movements upward and, metaphorically, outward—an airplane wing seen from the comfort of a passenger seat (Fig. 4), the “bird’s-eye view” of shoreline and of farmland, a video of an airplane that is taking off, and slow-motion clips of being above the clouds. These segments, it seems, anticipate what is inevitable with any recorded medium: the transplanting of the film onto distance—be it temporal, geographic, and or contextual.

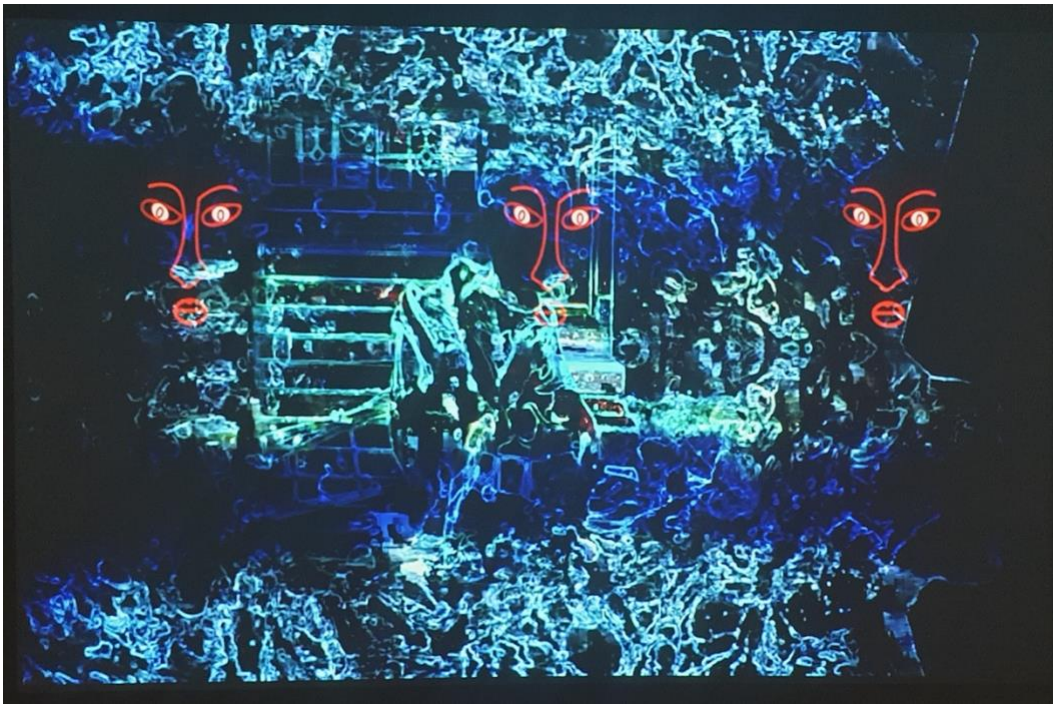


Figure 5. Jamie Berry, *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, 2021. Digital video and sound (video still). Courtesy of the artist

As she did with *Ake Ake Ake Ake*, here too Berry translates her own DNA sequencing into sound. What happens when such information is transformed into a temporal, sensual experience? Without the personal attachment to the subjects of the videos, the installation would be void of meaning. Those sounds, as well as the chanting or the arrows on the screen or the multiple hand-drawn eyes (Figs. 4–5) that accompany the videos, are the multiplicity within the singular voice, the community that is activated within the artwork.



Figure 6. Jamie Berry, *Whakapapa/Algorithms*, 2021. Digital video and sound (video still). Courtesy of the artist

Throughout the video, we see many video clips of young children and babies (Figs. 1 and 6). One kid is in a superman outfit. Another has a red cap and a Batman T-shirt on. A group of kids stands in front of a mural, looking into the camera. Babies are held by their parents. In one of the clips, the kids are posing in front of a door, above which a string of family pictures is hung. The clips give a strong sense of intimate familiarity. Sometimes the kids are placed in the middle of the frame, accompanied by hand-drawn figures. Other times, they are juxtaposed on mirrored videos of ocean waters or skies. Eventually, some of the clips of the children begin to loop, forward and backward: one child is staring into the camera, then moving their gaze away. At first, it looks like the action is being repeated by the child, but soon it becomes clear that the action is digitally looped in the editing. The family members comically move like digital marionettes. It's easy to imagine the children's own reactions to the looping effect and to speculate that it was made not for us, the outsider viewers, but to amuse them.

The children gaze into the camera, away from the camera, acknowledging lovingly, casually, the presence of the cinematographer. They express ease. I was reminded of Allison Griffiths's discussion of "the returning gaze" in early anthropological photography of "others," and how different Berry's returning gaze is.⁴ Here, the camera's gaze is not the apparatus throwing its shadow on the

children. It's not a "loving" gaze of an outsider layered on the faces of the young, creating mass-consumed images of children looking back into a camera's lens behind which stands the authority of the powerful traveling-photographer stranger, and whose authority is represented in the alluring "glow" on the subjects' faces as they are captured at the moment of encounter. Here, we are the witnesses of Berry's interaction with the kids as *whakapapa*—the returning gaze is casual, daily, and is a low-stakes action, within daily life. The young subjects are playful, and Berry, the VJ, is digitally playing as well, running them forward and backward, juxtaposing them with arrows and sound. Instead of an immediate moment that is captured by the performance of the photographic action— anonymized, without a past, and futureless, and caged by the technical apparatus—these low-stakes interactions allow the motion pictures to leak into the past and the future, within intimate and cyclical daily lives, in what Maya Deren would call a "vertical" development.⁵ Berry pairs their presence with a chain of meaningful connections, hinting at what is beyond the immediate encounter, as one's relationship to one's *whakapapa* ultimately is.

Lior Shamriz is a PhD student in the Film and Digital Media Department at the University of California Santa Cruz. They received a masters in experimental media design with honors from the University of Arts Berlin (UdK) in 2009. They were a DAAD Visiting Fellow at the California Institute of the Arts in 2013–2014. From 2016 to 2018 they curated programs at PAM performance space in Highland Park, Los Angeles, and since 2018 they have been curating films for Project Space Festival Juárez. They were a guest instructor at the FilmArche self-organizing film school in Berlin (2011, 2012, and 2013), the Hangzhou China Art Academy New Media's Masters programs in collaboration with the University of Arts Berlin (2012, 2013), and taught master classes at the Sarajevo Film Festival (2008) and Ars Independent in Katowice (2012). Their films have been presented at festivals and venues including the Berlinale, Locarno IFF, Sarajevo IFF, MoMA's ND/NF, BAFICI, Frameline, MixNYC, Torino IFF, Walker Art Center, and Lincoln Center in New York City, and won several awards at Oberhausen Kurzfilmtage.

Notes

¹ "Whakapapa/Algorithms," CIRCUIT Artist Moving Image, Aotearoa New Zealand, accessed August 26, 2022, <https://www.circuit.org.nz/project/whakapapa-algorithms-an-exhibition-by-jamie-berry>.

² Israel Randell, “Kia Whakatōmuri Te Haere Whakamua (I Walk Backwards into the Future with My Eyes Fixed on My Past),” *The Art Paper*, August 5, 2021, <https://www.the-art-paper.com/journal/whakapapa-algorithms-jamie-berry>.

³ Jamie Berry, “Representing Whakapapa in Prestigious Film Festival in Europe,” *Stuff*, August 4, 2022, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/300651904/representing-whakapapa-in-prestigious-film-festival-in-europe>.

⁴ Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 196.

⁵ Willard Maas, “Poetry and the Film: A Symposium,” *Film Culture* 29 (1963): 55–63, https://ubu-mirror.ch/papers/poetry_film_symposium.html.

EMILY CORNISH

Book Review: *Women Photographers of the Pacific World, 1857–1930*

Abstract

Book review: Anne Maxwell, Women Photographers of the Pacific World, 1857–1930, New York: Routledge, 2020. ISBN: 9781032174655, 334 pages, black and white illustrations. Softcover \$USD 48.95.

Keywords: *Photography, gender studies, settler colonialism, pictorialism, ethnography, portraiture, race, landscape photography, Hawai‘i, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Canada, United States*

Women Photographers of the Pacific World, 1857–1930, part of the Routledge Studies in Cultural History series, provides valuable case studies of settler women’s photography in the Pacific. While not comprehensive in its scope, the text provides a long overdue look at women’s engagement with this technology in the colonial contact zones of Hawai‘i, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, and the western coasts of Canada and the United States.

The book begins with a general introduction to the subject matter and is followed by four chronologically ordered sections; the first two are devoted to early women’s settler photography, while the third and fourth address settler women’s involvement with ethnography and pictorialism from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Author Anne Maxwell states in her introduction that the text is a response to histories of photography that have overlooked not only women photographers in general, but especially those who practiced their craft outside of Europe and the East Coast of the United States. She notes that the low value placed on objects and writings related to the lives of women during the period under review is an enduring issue for those studying women photographers, one that is related to western archival and museum collecting practices. As such, the number of women engaged in both professional and private photography during that time is likely much higher than the surviving material record indicates (13).

The book's introduction also highlights several important historical crosscurrents that impacted these women's practices, including the gendered ramifications of new technologies, suffrage movements, changing labor practices, and the particularities of settler colonialism in several geographic, national, and cultural contexts. Maxwell touches on all of these at various points throughout the book, but individually these large-scale topics are each worthy of their own research project. Maxwell's book demonstrates that there are a variety of productive areas for further investigation that sit at the center of women's lived experiences and women's visuality. Finally, the author situates her approach as both historical and comparative, with an emphasis on biography and description as tools crucial to conjuring the everyday lives of these photographers and as "powerful means for reinscribing women in history" (13–14).

Several key similarities between the women at the center of Maxwell's book and their photographic careers are conspicuous throughout the manuscript as a whole. These include the commercial success of these women during a period when it was difficult for women in general to achieve economic parity and thus independence from their male relatives and peers. Maxwell attributes their successes partly to the fact that colonial contact zones often provided women with more freedom from the social strictures placed on them by motherhood and the domestic sphere. Maxwell foregrounds the fact that many of their careers were shaped and, in some instances, cut short because of marriage and motherhood. Among the most interesting points Maxwell raises is that many of these women's photographic styles held a strong appeal to female clientele, suggesting that one way they were able to distinguish themselves within a male-dominated field was by engaging with the interests and concerns of other settler women. Maxwell goes one step further and points out that it is precisely this commercial appeal that often led art historians to discount these women photographers, their technical capabilities, and visual output.

Part One concerns settler women's photography between 1850 and 1880 and includes case studies that focus on Elizabeth Pulman (1836–1900), who immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand, and California-based photographers Julia Rudolph (1829–1890) and Elizabeth Withington (1825–1877). From this point forward in the book, Maxwell draws heavily on the work of "amateur historian" Peter Palmquist for her analyses of Rudolph and Withington; Palmquist wrote one of the only extensive histories of women photographers in California during the nineteenth century (23). In the case of Elizabeth Pulman, the misattribution of many of her photographs to her husband underscores a lack of scholarly attention (24). Along this vein, the book points to an ongoing issue facing scholars interested

in studying histories of photography and women within patriarchal societies: women have been/are treated as ornamental and their lives as ephemeral. This approach to women and their lived experiences has had an enduring impact on the development of history and art history as academic fields of study.

Chapter Two, on Elizabeth Withington, has a distinctly biographical tone. It and Chapter Three, on Julia Rudolph, are noteworthy for their discussions of these women's technical abilities vis à vis portraiture. Withington, for instance, was noted for creating photographs that were extremely "lifelike" and "spontaneous," despite often using photographic processes which made such effects difficult to render (34, 37). Rudolph appealed to her female clientele by using the vignette process to evoke the composition and atmosphere of Old Master paintings of the Madonna and Child (53).

Chapter Four, on Elizabeth Pulman, is the most conceptually-driven chapter in Part One, especially as it relates to Pulman's Māori portraits. Of the three photographers that this section addresses, Pulman was the only one to photograph the Indigenous peoples of her new home. Maxwell begins her discussion of Pulman by presenting key historical facts that would have impacted Pulman's work, including her arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand at the height of the land wars (67). Withington and Rudolph did not photograph Native people in California largely due to fact that settler colonialism in that area, unlike New Zealand, proceeded with targeted massacres and the removal of local tribes from their traditional lands prior to these women's arrival in the region. Māori people were dispossessed of their land through the machinations of British settler colonialism, but they were not removed to reservations and missions as was the case in many parts of the United States. These varied levels of engagement with the Indigenous populations in the locations these women settled stands out as one of the main comparative differences in the book. While Maxwell's focus is not on the differences of settler colonialism based on geography, the book does foreground the importance of comparative processes and the varied—and often ambivalent—uses that media like photography were put to in colonized places.

Maxwell's visual comparison of Pulman's Māori portraits to her husband George's portraits of Māori chiefs is an interesting point in this chapter (68). Maxwell argues that, unlike her husband, Pulman depicted her Māori sitters in more relaxed and introspective ways. Her sitters also tended to appear in contemporary clothing with less emphasis on things like their *moko* (tattoos), suggesting that Pulman, in contrast to her husband, was better able to capture their humanity and that her images were not necessarily intended to suit the needs of Euro-American audiences (74–79). While intriguing, Maxwell's argument

would have benefited from elaboration, including more comparative examples and analysis between Pulman's portraits and her husband's, as well as an examination of how the New Zealand government's purchase of Pulman's portrait negatives and subsequent use of her images in the tourist market complicates these claims (81).

The case studies in Part Two of the book focus on Hannah Maynard (1834–1918), Abigail Cardozo (1864–1937), and Margaret Matilda White (1868–1910), who were all active from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. In this section, Maxwell notes that Maynard, White, and several of the photographers discussed later in the book had more interaction with local Indigenous peoples, but their approaches to them as photographic subjects varied. Chapter Five, on Hannah Maynard, is notable for its discussion of her extremely modern approach to photography, including her use of photomontage and double exposures which anticipated the techniques of later art movements including Surrealism and Dada (109). As Maxwell situates her work, it is among the most imaginative approaches to photography among this group of women. Similarly, Maxwell highlights Cardozo's modernist aesthetics, especially the way her portraits drew from the tenets of Impressionism (133). As with the earlier case studies in the book, both women seem to have been overlooked by the scholarly community because of their commercial appeal.

In Chapter Seven, Maxwell singles out Margaret Matilda White as the only photographer among those discussed whose work offered a challenge to the tenets and values of settler society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Maxwell indicates that White may have had a greater sense of how her own society had negatively impacted Māori communities. She states that White's use of a realist photographic style was intended to critique her society's approach to Indigenous people, as well as people with mental and/or physical disabilities (143). The author's analysis within this chapter raises issues surrounding the implications of cross-cultural dressing, the returned gaze of the "other" in photographs and their ability to subvert possession by the viewer, and the power dynamics of photographic representation within settler colonial spaces (155–156). The chapter stands out for its ability to connect the biographical details of White's life and practice to the larger stakes of photographic practices in settler colonial spaces, and provides a strong entry point into the second half of the book.

Part Three concerns the period between 1903 and 1930, and looks at the work of Caroline Gurrey (1874–1927) in Hawai'i, Laura Adams Armer (1874–1963) in the southwestern United States, and Emma Freeman (1880–1927) in and around Eureka, California. As a whole, this section delivers an important

investigation of the intertwined nature of early ethnographic practices with modernist art movements like pictorialism. While the concept of salvage ethnography and the recognition that the resulting photographs of Indigenous peoples are imbued with settler romanticism are well established, Maxwell's argument that pictorialism was intertwined with the former is a more recent development. It certainly calls into question the place of such artistic movements within anthropology, and their capacity to produce images of Indigenous communities that are simultaneously—with the impact of systemic racism and generational trauma brought on by colonialism—sympathetic yet discordant. This is especially clear in the chapter on Armer's work among the Hopi and Navajo. Maxwell presents Armer's own words—as well as those of her son, reflecting on his mother's self-identification with aspects of Navajo culture—as supporting evidence that Armer cast herself in the role of a Native informant, one who, Maxwell claims, thought of herself as having come to an understanding of the “essence” of Navajo religious beliefs (206, 210–211). Armer did this without acknowledging the power dynamics at play between herself and the Indigenous communities she worked with and the weight that settler colonial history would have brought to bear on these relationships.

The fourth and final section of the book addresses the persistence of pictorialism in settler women's photography in the Pacific, long after the movement had gone out of vogue in Europe and America's East Coast. In this section, the case studies discuss the works of Mina Moore (1882–1957), May Moore (1881–1931), Anne Brigham (1869–1950), and Una Garlick (1883–1951). While there are short, isolated excerpts on women and landscape photography in the chapters on Elizabeth Withington and Julia Rudolph, this section provides the most sustained discussion of the topic. Chapter Eleven discusses May and Mina Moore's successful business photographing celebrities. Despite working in the commercial market, the sisters' techniques and keen sense of lighting gave their portraits an aestheticized quality that jettisoned them to fame in Australia. The final chapter in Part Four, on Una Garlick, explores how concepts of the picturesque became shaped by colonialism in places like Aotearoa New Zealand (300).

Overall, *Women Photographers of the Pacific World, 1857–1930* has a great deal to offer readers from diverse disciplines, including art history and visual culture, history, and anthropology, and Maxwell's volume provides readers with a plethora of pathways and questions for further research.

Emily Cornish is pursuing a PhD in the history of art at the University of Michigan. Her dissertation is a comparative analysis of the ways chiefly women from Hawai'i and Aotearoa New Zealand engaged with photography during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and used this technology as tool for innovative self-expression and maintaining cultural continuity in the face of settler colonialism.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Pacific Arts -- Call for Submissions

Pacific Arts, the journal of the Pacific Arts Association, has an **ONGOING OPEN CALL** for submissions on the arts of Oceania and its diasporas focusing on visual arts, material cultures, and heritage arts. The scope is temporally broad, highlighting both historical and current topics while engaging with a wide range of creative mediums, forms, and subject matter. *Pacific Arts* encourages interdisciplinary approaches to examining the political, social, economic, cultural, aesthetic, and environmental stakes in the production and study of Indigenous visual and material cultures in Oceania, past and present.

Please send full-length submissions and an abstract to pacificarts@ucsc.edu. Submissions should follow the [Pacific Arts style guide](#). *Pacific Arts* is a peer reviewed open access online journal published by the University of California/eScholarship and encourages broad participation and circulation.

Pacific Arts is also accepting reviews of books, media, and exhibitions that relate to visual and material cultures of Oceania. Authors, artists, museums, and publishers interested in having their work reviewed and anyone interested in writing a review should contact the editors at pacificarts@ucsc.edu.

Pacific Arts
Journal of the Pacific Arts Association



N.S. Vol. 20 No. 1
2020-2021

Pacific Arts
Journal of the Pacific Arts Association



N.S. Vol. 21 No. 1
2021

Pacific Arts
Journal of the Pacific Arts Association



N.S. Vol. 22 No. 1
2022



The Pacific Arts Association is an international organization devoted to the study of the arts of Oceania. The Pacific Arts Association (PAA), founded in 1974 and established as an association in 1978, is an international organization devoted to the study of all the arts of Oceania. PAA provides a forum for dialogue and awareness about Pacific art and culture. By connecting individuals and institutions around the world, PAA encourages greater cooperation among those who are involved with the creation, study, and exhibition of Pacific art.

The peer-reviewed **Pacific Arts journal** features current research and reviews. The **PAA Newsletter** provides timely information about important events to members. PAA's triennial **International Symposium** takes place in alternating venues across the globe and includes special tours, performances, exhibitions, and presentations of academic and artistic research on the arts of Oceania. Members have the opportunity to meet and participate in a PAA-sponsored session at the **College Art Association** annual meeting. PAA-Europe holds a meeting in Europe annually.

PAA's **goals** are:

- To make members more aware of the state of all the arts in all parts of Oceania.
- To encourage international understanding among the nations involved in the arts of Oceania.
- To promote high standards of research, interpretation, and reporting on the arts of Oceania.
- To stimulate more interest in the teaching of courses on Oceanic art especially but not only at the tertiary educational level.
- To encourage greater cooperation among the institutions and individuals who are associated with the arts of Oceania.
- To encourage high standards of conservation and preservation of the material culture in and of Oceanic arts.

Membership: US\$50 for professional individuals and institutions, US\$35 for visual and performing artists, students, and retired persons. Individuals and institutions wishing to become members of PAA can visit the membership page of the PAA website www.pacificarts.org/membership.

POSITION ANNOUNCEMENTS

Open Rank (Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and Full Professor) in Pacific Islander Studies

UCLA Department of Asian American Studies

Next review date: Friday, Dec 16, 2022 at 11:59pm (Pacific Time)

Apply by this date to ensure full consideration by the committee.

Final date: Monday, Jan 2, 2023 at 11:59pm (Pacific Time)

Applications will continue to be accepted until this date, but those received after the review date will only be considered if the position has not yet been filled.

Apply link: <https://recruit.apo.ucla.edu/JPF07965>

Tenure-track Assistant Professor (Academic Year) in Asian-Pacific Studies

Department of Asian-Pacific Studies at California State University, Dominguez Hills (CSUDH)

Review of applications will begin in January 2023. For full consideration, please submit your completed application with the required materials no later than January 15, 2023

Apply link: <https://careers.csudh.edu/en-us/job/520978/assistant-professor-asianpacific-studies>

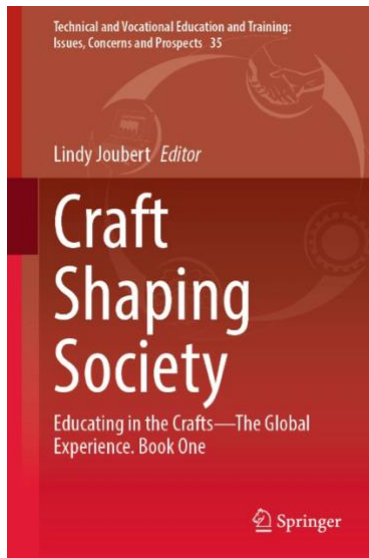
Tenure-track Assistant Professor in Critical Pacific Islander & Oceania Studies

Department of Asian American Studies at California State University Northridge

Screening of applications will begin December 19, 2022. Priority will be given to applicants who meet the screening deadline; however, the position will remain open until filled.

Apply link: <https://careers.pageuppeople.com/873/nr/en-us/job/521500/assistant-professor-asian-american-studies-2327>

NEW PUBLICATION



Craft Shaping Society: Educating in the Crafts—The Global Experience, ed. Lindy Joubert (2022)

This book focusses on the role of craft as a continuing cultural practice and the revival of disappearing skills in contemporary society. It includes twenty-five essays by highly regarded artisans, academics, technologists, entrepreneurs, businesspeople, curators, and researchers from many countries representing a wide range of global craft traditions and innovations.

The authors explain their professional practices and creative pathways with knowledge, experience, and passion. They offer insightful analyses of their traditions within their culture and in the marketplace, alongside the evolution of technology as it adapts to support experimentation and business strategies. They write about teaching and research informing their practice; and they explain the importance of their tools and materials in function and form of the objects they make. The essays reveal a poignant expression of their successes, disappointments, and opportunities.

This book offers case studies of how artisans have harnessed the traditions of the past alongside the latest design technologies. The authors reveal how global craft is not only a vehicle for self-expression and creativity, but also for being deeply relevant to the world of work, community and environmental sustainability. The book makes the vital link between skills, knowledge, education, and employment, and fills a much-needed niche in Technical, Vocational Education and Training TVET.

Additional information:

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-981-16-9472-1>

The book is the first of six volumes and the editor, Lindy Joubert, invites PAA members interested in submitting an essay on the Pacific region to email her at: lindyaj@unimelb.edu.au

CONFERENCE – Call for Papers



The Fiji Museum, The University of the South Pacific, Fiji National University, University of Fiji, the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, the iTaukei Trust Fund Board and the Australian National University are planning the 10th International Lapita Conference at the Grand Pacific Hotel and the Fiji Museum on the 26th-30th of June 2023, with the possibility of a round island field trip on the 29th-30th June.

The earliest people to settle the islands of Fiji were some of the Lapita peoples. They may have settled first in Nadroga around 3000 years ago at the sites of Bourewa and Qoqo and then spread out through southwest Vitilevu and then along all this island's coasts, eventually reaching Vanua Levu and many of the smaller islands offshore including Yadua (Bua), Moturiki and Naigani (Lomaiviti) before occupying Lau islands like Lakeba and Mago. Archaeological research shows that the Lapita settlers of Fiji came from the west, probably from Vanuatu or the eastern outer islands of Solomon Islands which they had reached from the Bismarck Archipelago in Papua New Guinea or from the west, perhaps directly from Vanuatu or 'leapfrogging' from elsewhere in Near Oceania. The Lapita settlers of Fiji represent the world's greatest voyagers for their time and exhibited a complex culture that included elaborately decorated pottery and shell tools and ornaments as well as an extraordinary ability to sail and navigate their way across hundreds of kilometers of open ocean. We know that in Fiji, the Lapita culture disappeared as a distinct culture about 2500 years ago but their descendants still live in these islands today, doing many of the same things and speaking related languages to those of their distant ancestors.

This conference will present some of the latest scientific research about the Lapita settlers of the southwest Pacific islands, including Fiji. In addition to archaeological research, there will be reports about work on Lapita and later ancient DNA to assist in better understanding the origins and population history of Lapita peoples across the Pacific; we will learn about the nature of their migration, whether it was a wave of voyagers or a slower, more drawn-out trickle over a longer period of time. Since Lapita peoples relied heavily on marine foraging and fishing, this conference will also report on the abundant resources that might have played a role in encouraging further expansion of Lapita communities.

The 10th Lapita conference will be a celebration of the deep-rooted cultures of the Pacific Islands and is likely to include themed sessions on:

- The History of Lapita Archaeology
- Lapita DNA and its Contribution to Population Studies
- Fiji Lapita history, 3100-2500 years ago
- Lapita and Language
- Lapita Symbols, Societies, and Networks
- New Lapita Research
- New Research in Pacific Islands Archaeology
- Archaeology, Land, and Identity in Oceania

We invite academics and researchers to submit their paper title and abstract (up to 150 words) by 1 March 2023 at the latest. Please indicate if the paper is for a spoken presentation or for a poster session, identify the session name, and list all authors with their affiliations and emails. Session chairs will contact you shortly early in March to let you know if your paper has been accepted.

COLLOQUIUM

Templeton Colloquium in Art History: “Pacific Encounters” University of California—Davis February 24, 2023, 4:00-6:00 PT

The Pacific: California’s neighbor to the west, it is largest of the planet’s oceans and home to many societies and cultures. Pacific peoples have for centuries connected to each other and to the bigger world, despite vast expanses involved in traversing this region of the globe. The Pacific is also the site of fanciful modern projection: a space of tourist appeal, strategic political value, philosophical speculation, and colonial exploitation. The arts of Pacific peoples give insight into this region’s histories and can foster better understanding of its importance. The 2023 Templeton Colloquium in Art History takes as its theme an ocean as an art-historical space. Emphasis will be on Hawaiian and Māori societies, which invite deeper consideration of this fascinating global sector and its visual culture.



Speakers:

- Ngarino Ellis, Art History, University of Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand
- Stacy Kamehiro, History of Art & Visual Culture, University of California, Santa Cruz
- Kailani Polzak, History of Art & Visual Culture, University of California, Santa Cruz

The series is made possible by the generous support of Alan Templeton (B.A., '82). All lectures are free and open to the public. [Campus Map](http://arts.ucdavis.edu/alan-templeton-colloquium-art-history). For more information: <http://arts.ucdavis.edu/alan-templeton-colloquium-art-history>

CONFERENCE – Call for Participation

Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Annual Meeting Kona, Hawai'i, February 1–4, 2023



The Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) warmly invites participants to join sessions at our 2023 annual meeting. The meeting will be held from 1-4 February at the [Courtyard King Kamehameha's Kona Beach Hotel](#) in Kona on the Big Island of Hawai'i. ASAO is an international scholarly society dedicated to the anthropology of the Pacific which welcomes anyone interested in the lives of Pacific people, including scholars working in Native/Indigenous Studies, Pacific Studies, Cultural Studies, and other disciplines. Our meetings are small, intimate, informal, and cooperative.

Sample of Sessions:

[Archiving, Preserving and Sharing Ethnographic Research for the Future](#)

[Artefacts of relations: buildings in Te Moananui New!](#)

[Dealing with Double Exposure: Extractive Capitalism and Climate Change in the Pacific New!](#)

[Decolonial Feminisms in Oceania: Localised and Regional Perspectives New!](#)

[Decolonising the Sea of Islands New!](#)

[Dialogics of Fieldwork Imagery New!](#)

[Ends of Oblivion: Continuities and Discontinuities in Oceania's Pasts](#)

[Examining the process of protecting spaces, places and the identity of Pacific Islanders New!](#)

[Finding Equitability in a Foreign Space New!](#)

[Food Sovereignty in the Pacific](#)

[Freedom and freedoms New!](#)

[Linking Oceania & Abiyala: Critiques Of Coloniality, Indigeneity, Anthropology New!](#)

[Mana Moana: Protecting Sacredness New!](#)

[Maternal and reproductive health in PNG: culture, medicine and care New!](#)

[Moana/Pacific Ontological Turnings New!](#)

[Museums and Repatriation: To Return or not to Return](#)

[Navigating Our Identities and Places in an Unbounded Oceania New!](#)

[Pacific Biculturalities](#)

[Pacific Christianities in Motion New!](#)

[Pacific Sisters at the Crossroads of Discrimination in Politics, Gender, and Identification \(Sex\) Identities](#)

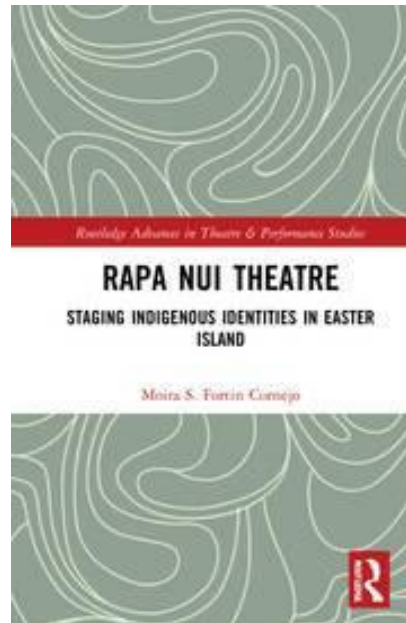
[Possessing the Pacific City: Claiming Place in Urban Melanesia](#)

[Stories about Birth, Cultural Celebrations, Cultural Observations](#)

For more information on participation & registration: <https://oceania.clubexpress.com/>

NEW PUBLICATION

Rapa Nui Theatre: Staging Indigenous Identities in Easter Island
By Moira Fortin Cornejo (2022)



This book examines the relationships between theatrical representations and socio-political aspects of Rapa Nui culture from pre-colonial times to the present.

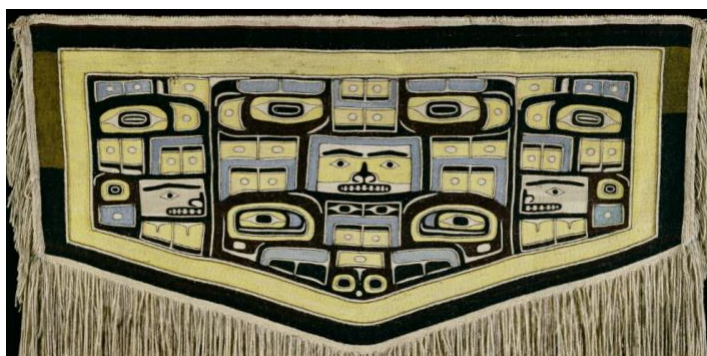
This is the first book written about the production of Rapa Nui theatre, which is understood as a unique and culturally distinct performance tradition. Using a multilingual approach, this book journeys through Oceania, reclaiming a sense of connection and reflecting on synergies between performances of Oceanic cultures beyond imagined national boundaries. The author argues for a holistic and inclusive understanding of Rapa Nui theatre as encompassing and being inspired by diverse aspects of Rapa Nui performance cultures, festivals, and art forms.

This book will be of great interest to students and scholars of Indigenous studies, Pacific Island studies, performance, anthropology, theatre education and Rapa Nui community, especially schoolchildren from the island who are learning about their own heritage.

For ordering information: <https://www.routledge.com/Rapa-Nui-Theatre-Staging-Indigenous-Identities-in-Easter-Island/Cornejo/p/book/9781032277356#toc>

SCHOLARSHIP OPPORTUNITY

Scholarships and Course Fees Reduction MA in the Arts of Africa, Oceania & the Americas Sainsbury Research Unit – University of East Anglia



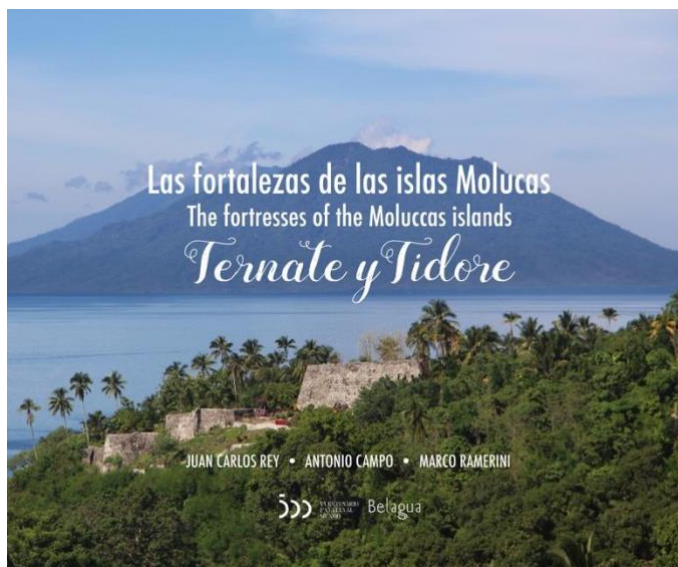
Chilkat blanket, Tlingit, southern Alaska, late 19th century. Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection UEA 667

The Sainsbury Research Unit (SRU) has scholarships available to candidates for the 2023/2024 MA course in the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas. In addition, **ALL** students will be charged the same course fee (£9,500 sterling), whether Home, EU or Overseas – a reduction of almost 50% for EU and Overseas students. Applicants should have a background in anthropology, art history, archaeology, museology or a related subject. The course is suitable for those wishing to proceed to doctoral research and pursue careers in higher education and museums.

For September 2023 entry, the deadline to apply and be eligible for SRU funding assistance is **20 March 2023**. Early application is recommended. Later applications can still be received but places or funding support may not be available. Further information: admin.sru@uea.ac.uk.

Information on the SRU and the MA course can be found at:
www.sru.uea.ac.uk.

NEW PUBLICATION



The Fortresses of the Moluccas Islands, Ternate and Tidore
By Juan Carlos Rey, Antonio Campo, & Marco Ramerini

This book offers a precise and detailed account of every fortification in the islands of Ternate and Tidore, built by the European powers in a colonial dispute for the control of the spice trade monopoly. It informs the traveler about the history of the most tumultuous period in the history of the Moluccas or Spice Islands, with special reference to the local sultanates of the two islands.

As a description of the tangible heritage of this European past in the Moluccas islands in the 16th and 17th centuries, the content of the book shows a comparison of the situation of this material heritage in the past and today, based on excellent bibliographic documentation, old engravings, and present-day photographs. In short, the book offers a precise analysis and review of the remains left by the European powers of the time—Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands—and their struggle to control of the lucrative trade monopoly, namely of cloves and nutmeg produced in the Spice Islands during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Released March 2022 by Belagua Editions. Published in Spanish and English; 120 pages; hardcover and dust jacket ISBN. 978-84-1244-2-4

Ordering information: <https://belaguaediciones.com/inicio/89-las-fortalezas-de-las-islas-molucas-ternate-y-tidore-.html>

Juan Carlos Rey is a diplomat, photographer, and writer who focuses on the Spanish presence in the Pacific in the 16th and 17th centuries. **Antonio Campo** holds a doctorate in History, with a specialization in Spanish history in Indonesia in the modern age. **Marco Ramerini** studies Southeast Asia, Mozambique, and the History of the Portuguese empire.

FILM FESTIVAL

Smithsonian Institution

February 23–26, 2023



Join the Smithsonian Mother Tongue Film Festival for our return to the National Mall! The eighth annual festival will take place in Washington, D.C., from February 23–26, 2023, and will showcase acclaimed feature films, short films, and other forms of digital storytelling, including filmmaker roundtables. Since 2016, the festival has occurred on or around International Mother Language Day on February 21—placing language center stage to reveal the richness, diversity and healing power of multilingual storytelling and expression.

The Mother Tongue Film Festival is organized by the **Recovering Voices**, an initiative of the Smithsonian founded in response to the global crisis of cultural knowledge and language loss. It works with communities and other institutions to address issues of Indigenous language and knowledge diversity and sustainability. Recovering Voices is a collaboration between staff at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of Natural History, National Museum of the American Indian, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Asian Pacific American Center, National Museum of Asian Art, and Latino Center.

Learn more: <https://mothertongue.si.edu/>

ACCEPTING APPLICATIONS



Housed in the History of Art and Visual Culture Department at the University of California—Santa Cruz, [our interdisciplinary Ph.D. program in Visual Studies](#) is designed for students with diverse academic backgrounds in the arts and humanities who wish to pursue a graduate degree focused on visual and cultural studies with historical and global expansiveness.

The flexibility and small scale of our program allows students to work closely with faculty to craft a personalized course of study that advances their intellectual and professional goals, leading them to excel in academic, curatorial, and other positions. We are proud that our [alumni](#) are gainfully employed at universities and museums.

Our program provides students with unparalleled opportunities to consider the role of social, political, and cultural forces in both shaping and being shaped by assorted modes of visual experience and their relations as well to complex workings of multisensory perception. Areas of particular concern, both historical and current, include art-historical and visual theories and approaches to environmental, social, and racial justice, colonial and decolonial visual culture, and Anthropocene and Indigenous studies, all in relation to such regions as North and Latin America, the Indigenous Americas (including pre-colonial California), Asia, Europe, the Mediterranean, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and the Pacific Islands.

Our faculty is internationally known for their scholarship and many have received awards and accolades for their publications as well as their pedagogy. We pride ourselves in being dedicated to our students' academic and professional success. We provide consistent and generous mentorship, feedback and support.

Our students often comment on the positive experiences they share with their peers inside and outside the classroom, thriving in an environment of collegiality and mutual respect. They have an impressive record in the dissemination of their work through national and international conferences, publications, and exhibitions and in earning prestigious grants. You can read highlights of their achievements and activities in our [Newsletters](#), or browse through their accomplishments in our [Graduate Student News](#).

We are located on a 2,000-acre campus nestled in the rolling hills off the Monterey Bay. Santa Cruz offers majestic redwood forests and beautiful beaches and the rich cultural resources of the San Francisco Bay Area are just a short drive away.

Please visit the [HAVC website](#) and contact [faculty](#) in the department with any questions. [The application deadline is December 13, 2022.](#)

NEW PUBLICATIONS

CARTY, JOHN. 2021. *Balgo: Creating Country*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press. 395 pages. ISBN: 978-1760802042 (hb).

CASTRO-KOSHY, E., & DEVATINE, T. (2022). Polynesianising and Regenerating Urban Spaces: An Analysis of the Artworks and Interventions of the Centre des Métiers d'Art de Polynésie Française and of Its Artists. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 33(2), 152-172. **Special issue: Making the City "Home": Practices of Belonging in Pacific Cities**, edited by Daniela Kraemer and Monika Stern.

DEVYLER, S. (2022). The Archipelago of Meaning: Methodological Contributions to the Study of Vanuatu Sand Drawing. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 33(2), 279-327.

ENGELS-SCHWARZPAUL, ANNA-CHRISTINA, LOPESI, LANA & REFITI, ALBERT L. (eds). 2022 (October). *Pacific Spaces: Translations and Transmutations*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. 218 pages. ISBN: 978-1-80073-625-2 (hb) and 978-1-80073-626-9 (eb).

GENEIX-RABAULT, S. (2022). What Graffiti Arts and Tags Tell Us about Urban Identity in Nouméa (New Caledonia). *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 33(2), 173-191. **Special issue: Making the City "Home": Practices of Belonging in Pacific Cities**, edited by Daniela Kraemer and Monika Stern.

GOLDHAHN, J., TAYLOR, L., TACON, P. S. C., MAY, S. K., & MARALNGURRA, G. (2021). Paddy Compass Namadbara and Baldwin Spencer: An Artist's Recollection of the First Commissioned Aboriginal Bark Paintings in Oenpelli, 1912. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*(2), 46-65.

GRIFFIN-KREMER, C. (2022). Hunting Frame Strings: Variations of Two Pacific Island String Figures ["Milky Way" and "Kami Moa"]. *Bulletin of the International String Figure Association*, 29, 119-127.

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HUNTSMAN, J. (2022). Celebrating Adrienne L. Kaeppler (1935-2022). *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 131(2), 107-112.

JANKE, TERRI. 2021. *True Tracks: Respecting Indigenous Knowledge and Culture*. Sydney: UNSW Press. 414 pages. ISBN: 978-1742236810 (pb) and 978-1742245270.

LE ROUX, G. (2022). Pacific Artistic Communities in Australia: Gaining Visibility in the Art World. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 33(2), 133-151. **Special issue: Making the City "Home": Practices of Belonging in Pacific Cities**, edited by Daniela Kraemer and Monika Stern.

MORPHY, H. & MCKENZIE, R., (Eds.). 2021. *Museums, Societies and the Creation of Value*. Routledge. 298 pages. ISBN 9780367688486.

TARÇON, S.C., MAY, SALLY K., FREDERICK, URSULA K. & MCDONALD, JO (eds). 2022 (September). *Histories of Australian Rock Art Research*. Canberra: ANU Press. 294 pages. ISBN: 978-1760465353 (pb) & 978-1760465360 (pdf).

VAN SANTEN, CAROLINE. 2021. *Nuku Hiva 1825: Ethnohistory of a Dutch-Marquesan Encounter and an Art-historical Study of Marquesan Material Culture*, Volume I and II. Doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia.